AUTUMN · 1934 VOLUME III · No. 4

The American Scholar

PHI BETA KAPPA, the college honor society founded in 1776, precursor of all the Greek-letter societies in America, publishes THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR not only for members of ΦBK but for all who have general intellectual interests.

❖ ❖ ❖

"EVERY epoch has its character determined by the way its populations react to the material events which they encounter. This reaction is determined by their basic beliefs—by their hopes, their fears, their judgments of what is worth while. They may rise to the greatness of an opportunity, seizing its drama, perfecting its art, exploiting its adventure, mastering intellectually and physically the network of relations that constitutes the very being of the epoch. On the other hand, they may collapse before the perplexities confronting them. How they act depends partly on their courage, partly on their intellectual grasp. Philosophy is an attempt to clarify those fundamental beliefs which finally determine the emphasis of attention that lies at the base of character."

Adventures of Ideas—ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Scholar

Autumn · 1934 Vol. III · No. 4

Contents

Robbery in America — William A. Shimer 380

Louis Agassiz — Helen Ann Warren 381

Geologist, botanist, zoologist, brilliant and indefatigable in his effort to comprehend the world and the meaning of life through its manifestations, whose impact upon scientific problems was hardly less significant in its results than his impact, as teacher, upon the classical emphases and antiquated methods of the pedagogical world.

For some years literary assistant to Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, the American Museum of Natural History; collaborated with him in his biography of Edward Drinker Cope and his volume, *Cope, Master Naturalist.*

Skull of the Caribe, *An Illustration* 395

(used through the courtesy of the Harvard Museum)

Private Property or Capitalism — Herbert Agar 396

The author finds liberalism, confronted with capitalism as the negation of democracy, dodging the essential choice between communism, fascism, and conservatism redefined in terms of an early American reality (the ownership of the means of production by "the many" rather than "the few") and urges, not reform but reformation.

Formerly taught English and history in a leading American private school, publishing while there a novel and a volume of verse; now literary editor of *The English Review* and honorary attaché at the American Embassy; author, with his wife, of *The Garment of Praise;* winner, in 1934, of the Pulitzer prize for his book, *The People's Choice.*

Shelley: Values and Imagination — Bennett Weaver 404

A study of Shelley, not as a lyric poet but one passionately desiring to make available to other men those ultimate values he perceived, values discerned and secured by imagination which is the creative faculty whereby men may participate in the activity of the Infinite.

Assistant professor of English, University of Michigan; author of three volumes of verse and *Toward the Understanding of Shelley;* with Professors Campbell and Pyre edited *Poetry and Prose of the Romantic Movement.*

A Critique of Our Colleges — Richard A. Lester 413

The author takes as his text the challenge which "the conflicts, the wasteful duplications, the indefensible compromises, the narrow provincialisms," and the intellectual inbreeding in American educational history present; and for the promotion of mental vigor recommends a "high velocity of circulation" of professors, students, and ideas.

After studying at the Universities of Buffalo, Yale, Princeton, Bonn, Germany, and the London School of Economics and Political Science was an instructor of economics at Princeton; later became research assistant to the National Planning Board; has now returned to Princeton as instructor.

Speculation in American and English Stock Markets — Ralph George Hawtrey 420

A careful analysis of the methods pursued in both markets, with comparisons and contrasts leading to an explanation of their divergent history between 1925 and 1929 when America, sanely adjusting its stocks to its increased prices and lowered cost of production, went mad, and England, missing the "sanity which gave prosperity to American industry in those years" missed also the madness.

Director of Financial Inquiries, the British Treasury, since 1919; lecturer on economics, Harvard, 1928–29; author, among other books, of *Currency and Credit, Monetary Reconstruction, The Gold Standard in Theory and Practise, Economic Aspects of Sovereignty, Trade Depression and the Way Out, The Art of Central Banking.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

The Need of Sophistication in Ethics — Albert R. Chandler 429

The emancipation of men's points of view from complete correlation with their environment, heredity, and economic status—promoted by such men and movements as Aristotle, Hegel, Kant, "evolutionism," Marx, Nietzsche, Freud—will depend upon the development of a "science of moral perspective."

Has studied at Dartmouth, Harvard, Cornell, and Marburg and Göttingen, Germany; is now Professor of Philosophy, Ohio State University.

The Balkan Minorities Problem — Henry C. Wolfe 437

Anticipating an international conflagration growing out of ethnic minority population groups in Europe, the author proposes a plan for avoiding local blazes.

As a member of the Hoover Commission spent a year in Soviet Russia; following the Smyrna disaster directed the feeding of refugees in a large area around Patras.

Gland Magic — Edward Podolsky 444

Facts stranger than miracles—the recent achievements of endocrinologists in their conquest of mysterious and fatal illnesses—an account of pioneer doctors who groped toward an understanding of the delicately inter-balancing structure of endocrine secretions and their "antagonistic" influences.

Member of the medical staff, the Madison Park Hospital, Brooklyn, and of the Medical Editors and Authors Association; charter member, the New York Endocrinological Society; author of *Medicine Marches On* and "Medicine from Toads" (AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring, 1934).

Living in Diaries — Richardson Wright 457

As an epicure in diaries the author suggests, for flavor and digestibility, a mixed diet and a slow and nibbling approach.

In 1910–11 foreign correspondent in Siberia and Manchuria for American newspapers; literary critic, *New York Times*, 1912; author of numerous books on diverse subjects, including gardens and houses.

Letters of Theodore Roosevelt and Charles Dwight Willard 465

A correspondence from which the reader gleans not merely a discussion of political expediency and of democracy, its prerogatives, use, and usefulness, but a delicate sense of contrasts in self-revelation.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is indebted to the Roosevelt Estate and to Mary E. Willard for permission to print these heretofore unpublished letters; and to Mr. and Mrs. Colin Clements for offering the correspondence for publication.

His Favorite Author, *A Cartoon* 473

Facsimile of Part of a Roosevelt Letter of April 28, 1911 480

All Ready for the Fireworks, *A Cartoon* 486

In the Realm of Scholarship

Phi Beta Kappa Prospects at Chicago under the New Plan — C. S. Boucher 487

Gallaudet College — Percival Hall 493

Oriental Studies Available in Translation — Mortimer Graves 495

A Request—for Items about William Ellery Leonard — Clara Leiser 496

Discussion

Freeing Our Free Schools — Ross Stagner 497

Index to Volume III 503

NOTE.—Authors who wish manuscripts returned in case publication is not feasible should attach sufficient postage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROBBERY IN AMERICA

Nationalism has become so rampant that it may at last open the eyes of educators to their culpability. Not only our jingoistic school histories, of which already many are ashamed, but our literature, philosophy, religion—even our geography texts—are bigoted stay-at-homes, wise in their ignorance. Provincial learning is false learning. It is like mastering Shakespeare from one play or grasping Christianity without knowing Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, Stoicism, and many other neighboring faiths.

Americans should be told, no doubt, how Ghandi dresses and how many battleships Japan boasts, but if our children and our western civilization are not to be robbed of their rightful inheritance our schools and authors should teach of the profound wisdom and sense of reality attained by the other side of the world through life times of contemplation and millenniums of peaceful civilization. Our technocracy and economy urge us to live more leisurely. Shall that mean more commercial movies and speedier cars, or shall it mean healthful recreation, thought, reading, intelligent conversation, art, worship—culture?

The thought and art and life of the Orient and of other great areas of the earth should be commonplaces in our schools and colleges. Only so can our children—can Americans—come to be at home in the world—come to experience in their own lives the accumulated richness of humanity.

This richness is no less a property than are riches in gold or bonds. If nationalistic or careless educators prevent our people from enjoying this richness, is robbery too strong a term! Rackets and kidnappings are relatively insignificant.

WILLIAM A. SHIMER.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Louis Agassiz

HELEN ANN WARREN

LOUIS AGASSIZ, born student of nature and interpreter of her mysterious behavior, was ranked by his contemporaries as one of the brilliant men of their generation and remains today one who with far-eddying results added his jot to the sum total of human thought. His vast researches into animal life and his conception of the glacial period infinitely extended the world's history and gave speculative thinking ample room for development. In America his ideas were revolutionary. Classical education with its enormous element of book learning and its limited practical outlet through the church, the law courts, and literary pursuits held undisputed sway in our universities in the mid-nineteenth century. But the impact of Agassiz' intelligence so shook this system to its foundations that formal learning found itself before long the somewhat neglected foster-sister of scientific courses, experimental laboratories, and, eventually, technical and vocational schools.

Had Agassiz been merely a student, gifted in research as he was, his memory would have been cherished by generations of geologists, zoologists, and botanists for his contributions to scientific literature and scientific knowledge.[1] He was, however, primarily a teacher. "Louis Agassiz, Teacher," he preferred to sign himself. His desire to learn and to teach went hand in hand. Voluminous and careful researches resulted in many published volumes. Continuous collecting of plants, shells, fishes, birds, bones, mammals, and fossils also went on, ultimately resulting in two museums, one at the University of Neuchâtel and the other at Cambridge, Massachusetts. To Agassiz filled with the glory and wonder of creation these activities were simply groundwork essential to his wish to understand the world and to share the pleasure he found in trying to unravel the meaning of life.

For the key to knowledge he turned to nature, seeking the explana-

[1] Agassiz' most important publications include his *Recherches sur les Poissons Fossiles, Nomenclator Zoologicus, Histoire Naturelle des Poissons d'Eau Douce de l'Europe Centrale, Etudes Critiques sur les Mollusques Fossiles, Système Glaciare, Contributions to the Natural History of the United States,* and *A Journey in Brazil.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of man and the universe through animals, plants, mountains, valleys, oceans, rivers of water, and rivers of ice. Across a world steeped in formal learning, choked with Greek and Latin learned by rote, this approach came as a fresh breeze. In America in the 1850's a preponderant percentage of college graduates became clergymen, in many cases for lack of another profession, and to these young men Agassiz opened a new field of knowledge, a new vocation, and a new means of livelihood. By his own career he gave the dignity of professional standing to geology, zoology, and botany, previously avocations for men who made their living as doctors, lawyers, or ministers. While undoubtedly the trend of the times was with him, still his was the voice heard. Furthermore, a true democrat, he believed in making knowledge available to more than a small circle of savants, and at the same time had the knack of making knowledge attractive without minimizing the study necessary for mastery of a subject.

In the United States, which knew Agassiz in his maturity, his influence took tangible form in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the National Academy of Sciences which he helped to found, and in the Smithsonian Institution, of whose Board of Regents he was an early member. Smaller scientific societies, also, claimed him as a member. Students flocked to him from all corners of the land, returning to spread his teachings.

Fame and accomplishment somewhat obscure a man's character, particularly after his death. Louis Agassiz was an interesting, impetuous, and lovable, as well as gifted, person, and deserves consideration as a healthy, evenly-balanced product of a good heredity and a fortunate environment. He was born in his father's parish of Motier in western Switzerland on May 28, 1807 and was christened Jean Louis Rodolphe. His father, the Reverend Louis Rodolphe Agassiz, one of the fourth generation of a French Huguenot family of clergymen who had taken refuge in Switzerland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, was a devout, kindly man, deeply interested in education and active in furthering the schools in the several parishes he served during his lifetime. His wife, Rose Mayor Agassiz, was Swiss, the daughter of a physician, and came of a long line of physicians and lawyers.

Louis inherited from his parents a sound, vigorous physique, developed by a simple home atmosphere and plenty of exercise in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upland air. Eager, ambitious, and excitable, he was also endowed at birth with an inquisitive mind which his parents encouraged to expand but refrained from forcing. In his serene, secure home with its sincere belief in the goodness of God and the dignity of man he developed sincerity, simplicity, and poise. He grew up with no sense of awkwardness in body or mind and emerged able to get along with people, from fishermen to emperors.

His mother understood him and encouraged him almost to the end of his life. She also gave him a high opinion of women, as his thesis for the doctorate of philosophy witnessed in its theme, "Femina humana mari superior," based on the argument that woman being historically the later creation was an improvement upon man. Agassiz married twice, each time an unusual and gifted bride. His first wife, Cécile Braun, had a decided talent for sketching, a great aid in the preparation of his monographs, and his second wife, Elizabeth Cabot Cary, had literary and executive ability of the exact type needed to complement his American career. In education, unlike most of his contemporaries, Agassiz saw no barriers to women and opened his classes and even his museum jobs as freely to them as to men.

Up to the age of ten Louis' parents taught him and he was allowed to roam the fields and woods with his brother. One of his favorite playthings was a stone basin in the parsonage garden. A spring supplied it with water and here he was allowed to keep the fishes which he and his brother snared with their hands in the limpid pools at the edge of the lake. Caged birds, fieldmice, guinea pigs, and rabbits shared his affections with the fish while he learned the habits and characteristics of each of them at first hand. There were very few shops in the Swiss countryside in 1815, journeymen coopers, tailors, and shoemakers taking their place. No doubt the children stood around in an awed circle during the visits of these delightful wanderers and Louis, at least, profited by watching them for he learned not only how to fashion a pair of shoes for his sister's doll and make a water-tight barrel but how to observe closely and to reproduce what he saw.

When he was ten years old he entered a school for boys at Bienne where nine hours of study were required each day and where he perforce became a linguist. Vigorous outdoor play being also encouraged he continued to develop physically. When the time came for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him to leave school he begged so hard to be allowed to continue his studies and the masters sent such glowing accounts of his abilities that his parents agreed to give him further schooling though they could ill afford to do so. In 1822, accordingly, when he was fifteen Louis entered the Academy at Lausanne, receiving there his first lessons in zoology and spending his spare time as always in the woods and fields or swimming and fishing in the lake. His desire to "see for myself where the truth is" grew strong and he developed very decided ambitions for a scientific education. Since science was at that time synonymous with medicine the boy's uncle, Dr. Matthias Mayor, a prominent physician of Lausanne, became convinced that his interest in anatomy augured well for his success in medicine. As a result Louis in 1824 entered the medical school in Zürich. He was accompanied by his brother Auguste and together the boys copied in longhand books they were too poor to buy. Among these was Lamarck's *Animaux sans Vertèbres*, which, although it had little interest for the younger lad, he yet faithfully wrote out for Louis. The brothers remained at Zürich for two years, studying under Schinz, a well-known zoologist of the day, as well as under the medical professors.

At the end of the second year in Zürich, in 1826, Louis went on to the University of Heidelberg to spend a year studying physiology and anatomy under Tiedemann, zoology under F. S. Leuckart,[1] and botany under L. W. Bischoff. In this last class he met Alexander Braun whose study of botany was to bring him distinction as the director of the Berlin Botanical Gardens. The two boys became fast friends and to Agassiz, at least, their meeting was a turning point, for it developed his scientific bent. Not being able to afford stagecoach prices, Agassiz did his traveling on foot. Return to Orbe during the short vacations was therefore impossible. The Brauns, however, lived conveniently near Heidelberg, at Karlsruhe in Baden. Herr Braun, Postmaster General of the Grand Duchy of Baden, occupied a spacious house overlooking the Grand Ducal palace and its rich botanical garden. Just beyond Herr Braun's garden the Hartzwald forest edged the town of Karlsruhe. The country afforded a wealth of animals, plants, and minerals for study and such investigation was the Braun family's recreation and chief delight.

In the autumn of 1827 young Braun decided that the newly

[1] Uncle of Rudolf Leuckart.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reorganized University of Munich offered better scientific courses than were available at Heidelberg and persuaded Agassiz and Carl Schimper, another friend, to accompany him there. Among the inducements were free lectures, a theater open to students for a very small fee, several famous professors, and a rich museum for study and comparison. The choice proved wise. Because of their habit of sitting until all hours of the night debating the problems of the universe the three friends came to be known as the "Little Academy." They were determined to learn and they met with approval and encouragement from some of the most distinguished scholars of the time. With Döllinger, Agassiz studied physiology and embryology; with Oken he explored the principles of classification, to which he was to become a brilliant contributor; under the guidance of the philosopher, Schelling, his parsonage background of religious faith broadened to a less dogmatic but no less deep belief in God and a conviction that the diversity of animal forms could be explained as individual thoughts of the Creator. Agassiz spent three years at Munich and emerged in the summer of 1830 the author of an important volume on fishes, a doctor of philosophy, and a doctor of medicine, the latter degree won with honors and coming a year later than the authorship and the doctorate of philosophy.

The botanist, C. F. P. von Martius, who was a member of the faculty, became interested in Braun and Agassiz and soon discovered that the Swiss lad spent his vacations traveling over Switzerland and Germany collecting fresh-water fishes to add to those he had accumulated from the time he played in the parsonage garden. In fact, this habit of collecting fishes never left Agassiz. All his life he much preferred spending a day in the fish market of the cities he visited to spending it at more polite gatherings. Von Martius, who was also interested in fishes, was endeavoring to complete the publication of his report on "The Natural History of Brazil." J. P. Spix, who had been in charge of the ichthyological portion of the German expedition to that country in 1817 and 1820, had just died, leaving von Martius his uncompleted manuscript, but with the description of the fresh-water fishes untouched. Agassiz, who impressed von Martius as a capable, reliable student, suddenly found himself engaged to complete the Brazilian manuscript. This he accomplished in 1829, shortly after receiving his Ph.D. In this work, written in Latin and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entitled *Selecta Genera et Species Piscium quos in Itinere per Brasiliam Annis MDCCCXVII–MDCCCXX*, Agassiz characterized nine new genera, embracing forty-two species new to science. Its publication brought him fame in scientific circles and strengthened his determination to continue with zoology, although at the moment he was still committed to a medical career.

Cuvier, to whom the Brazilian volume was dedicated, acknowledged with an encouraging letter and Agassiz, who was young, strong, and ambitious, promptly started work upon his descriptive monograph on the natural history of the fresh-water fishes of Central Europe for which he had long been amassing material. Although his income was slender for his own support and his time was needed in preparation for his medical degree he engaged an artist and started work. After months of struggling to make ends meet he managed to interest the publisher, Cotta of Stuttgart, in the projected volume and received an advance of 20,000 Swiss francs on the book, which finally appeared in 1839. At the same time he started collecting material for a volume on fossil fishes. A year later, in 1830, Agassiz, who was then twenty-three, was awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine and set out for home, ostensibly to take up a country practice. He had one more fling at science first, however, going from Munich to Vienna where he studied the museum collections of fishes of the Danube.

Word of his accomplishments in zoology preceded him to Neuchâtel and he reached home to find that a wealthy man of the city, M. Louis Coulon, and his son, both of whom were students of natural history, had decided that its study should be incorporated into the courses at the College of Neuchâtel and accordingly had presented their private collections as a nucleus for a museum. They proposed to establish a professorship of natural history as well and selected their gifted young townsman to fill that place. But some time elapsed before all their plans were complete. Agassiz arrived in the autumn of 1830 and waited a year for the professorship to be established. All that time he longed to be off to Paris to study under Cuvier at the Jardin des Plantes but he had not the money to go. In December 1831 a friend of his father's, himself a clergyman and far from wealthy, inherited a small sum of money and lent it to Louis Agassiz for the journey to Paris. The young man set out at once, took a small room

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

near the Jardin des Plantes, and called upon Cuvier the very day of his arrival. He was warmly received and so won the old master's trust that Cuvier turned over to him material he had collected for a monograph on fossil fishes. This was incorporated, beginning in 1833, in Agassiz' *Recherches sur les Poissons Fossiles.* Only a few months after Agassiz' arrival in Paris Cuvier died, leaving his pupil the advice "Work kills" and a store of impressions which he never forgot.

Baron von Humboldt, the patron of all science in the early nineteenth century, also came to know Agassiz during his months at the Jardin des Plantes. He as well as Cuvier liked and trusted the younger man and soon brought his very considerable influence to bear upon Agassiz' life. He lent him money, unsolicited, at the crucial moment when the Swiss clergyman's funds were ebbing fast; he advised him not to accept from Cuvier's associate, Valenciennes, an offer of work on the *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons;* he and von Buch, whom he interested in Agassiz, encouraged the Coulons to proceed with their plan of establishing the chair of natural history for Agassiz at Neuchâtel; and he arranged a purchase of Agassiz' collections for the University of Neuchâtel through subscriptions by the city itself, King Frederick William IV of Prussia, the Prince of Neuchâtel, and Count Louis de Pourtales, which enabled Agassiz to start teaching with cash in hand.

In the autumn of 1832 Agassiz returned to Neuchâtel to spend fourteen intensely active and productive years. In the classroom he developed his brilliant talents as a lecturer and began the practise of a method of direct observation for which he was to become famous in America. His lectures were profusely illustrated by drawings made upon the blackboard as he talked and by actual specimens of the objects under discussion. Since he needed more specimens than his collections and the college museum could provide and was fearful of loss through breakage he began having plaster casts made of his study material—probably the first naturalist to do this. As an adjunct to his classroom he organized a natural history society in December 1832 and inspired its members to notable work in the geology of the Jura Mountains and even the Andes.

It was characteristic of Agassiz that his plans always outstripped the physically and financially possible. According to his friend Arnold Guyot,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When costly books were to be purchased, artists provided, plates lithographed, help secured, visits to distant museums undertaken, the question of expense was never considered, but rather systematically set aside as an undue interference. "These things are needed for the work," was his uniform answer to friendly remonstrances; to his mind this was enough.

During his years at Neuchâtel three artists, Weber, Dinkel, and Sonrel, and an editorial assistant, Edward Desor, were dependent upon him, while a large lithographing establishment looked to him as its chief source of income. Fortunately he was endowed with a quality of inspiring such respect for his vast learning and such confidence in his integrity that his work secured support. His relatives, of course, were extremely proud of him and aided his work as they were able. King Frederick William IV of Prussia was his patron and support also came from Lord Eniskillen, Sir Philip Egerton, and Sir Francis Egerton. In addition to numerous contributions to scientific periodicals twenty-three of his most important books were produced during these years, many of them in several volumes. The *Recherches sur les Poissons Fossiles* was, of course, the most outstanding single achievement and enormously enhanced his prestige, being regarded in France and Germany as complementary to Cuvier's *Recherches sur les Ossements Fossiles du Bassin de Paris*, and as considerably extending geologic knowledge. In England it was rewarded by the Wollaston gold medal of the Geological Society of London and inspired the British Association for the Advancement of Science to turn over to Agassiz for description all the public and private collections, in England and Scotland, of fishes from the Old Red Sandstone. But to Agassiz the study of fossil fishes, no matter how interesting, was not a life work. Throughout the time he was working on the fossil material he studied living fishes, echinoderms, and mollusks as well—the whole animal kingdom in fact. Consciously or unconsciously he perfected himself in comparative anatomy.

Fossil fishes had, however, led him into geology, where he seemed destined for a time to remain and to be considered a trifle mad. For many years the erratic boulders of Switzerland had been a subject of controversy. De Saussure and Leopold von Buch had attributed them to muddy torrents which had descended from the Alps, and most geologists were content to accept that thesis. Venetz of the Valais became convinced that the glacier, at least along the upper Rhone,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was responsible for the transportation of boulders. But in 1834 the memoirs of the Helvetian Society contained a paper by Jean de Charpentier, the director of mines in the Canton de Vaud, a distinguished geologist and a friend of Agassiz, in which M. de Charpentier set forth the somewhat startling belief, justified by twenty years of investigation, that all the erratic boulders bore marks of pressure beneath a weight of ice and that accordingly all of Switzerland must at one time have been covered by an ice-sheet.

Agassiz, who was not particularly interested in the discussion at first, in 1836 decided to look into the subject and visited de Charpentier at Bex, near Lake Geneva and the Rhone glacier. After five months' survey of the region he was convinced that de Charpentier was too conservative, that probably most parts of the world bore evidences of glacial action, and the next year he declared in his presidential address before the Helvetian Society at Neuchâtel "that there has been a time when glaciers covered the whole area of the Alps and extended far beyond; there has been in Europe a period of great cold, a great Ice Age, when the mammoths lived." Although he was laughed at and vigorously opposed and although his own countrymen scoffed at the idea and the English geologists, Buckland, Sedgwick, Murchison, and Lyell thought him mad, Agassiz persisted and with Edward Desor and Arnold Guyot scaled the Jungfrau and the Finsteraarhorn, a rare feat even for Swiss mountaineers, and spent several summers encamped upon the living Aar glacier, calculating the speed at which it moved and studying its grinding effect upon rocks. The three men established its temperature at various depths and Agassiz finally had himself lowered deep into its heart to study the internal structure at first hand, nearly losing his life in the process. He became an authority upon the physical laws of the glaciers and his views were soon known throughout the scientific world. Years later, as his travels extended through the British Isles and North and South America he reported further evidence of the extent of the glacial age and eventually had the satisfaction of knowing that his theory was accepted.

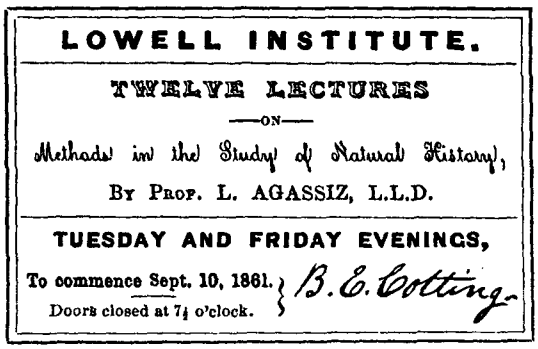
Baron von Humboldt looked with disfavor upon Agassiz' glacial studies and in 1846 once again took a hand at shaping his friend's life. With his natural gift for making people fond of him Agassiz had won the liking of Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, who for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

several years had planned a scientific journey to the United States. He persuaded Agassiz to be his companion and von Humboldt, seizing upon the opportunity to wean Agassiz away from glacial contemplation, obtained a grant of 15,000 francs from the King of Prussia and a commission for Agassiz to study the zoology of the United States for comparison with that of Europe. To this Sir Charles Lyell added arrangements for a course of lectures on the "Plan of Creation"—a favorite subject with Agassiz—to be delivered in the autumn of 1846 before the Lowell Institute of Boston.

Late in 1845 Louis Agassiz left Neuchâtel never to return. His son remained there at school awaiting his home-coming while his wife, an invalid, returned to Karlsruhe with their two daughters. Agassiz went first to Paris to complete his work on the echinoderms by study at the Jardin des Plantes. Then, since in the summer of 1846 it developed that Bonaparte would be unable to visit America, Agassiz set out alone, making first a short visit to England.

He arrived in Boston a fabulously learned European, stamped with the dazzling seal of foreign universities and royal honors, but as he walked upon the lecture platform and started to speak earnestly in broken English his audience forgot his prestige in his personality. They liked him and wanted to hear what he had to say. Agassiz, cheered by their deep attention, responded with enthusiasm. The heterogeneous mixture of his hearers, rich and poor seated side by side in lottery-won seats, amazed him. He was quick to grasp the enormous possibilities of education in America and as his researches


LOWELL INSTITUTE.

TWELVE LECTURES

—ON—

Methods in the Study of Natural History,

By Prof. L. AGASSIZ, L.L.D.

TUESDAY AND FRIDAY EVENINGS,

To commence Sept. 10, 1861.

Doors closed at 7½ o'clock.

B. E. Cotting.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the King of Prussia and requests for lectures took him inland from Boston he developed an immense liking for the country and a passionate belief in its future. Beside a land in which he could really teach and watch his teachings spread and develop, Europe with its settled culture and select group of scientists paled in significance. The "Plan of Creation" lectures having been completed, he undertook another series on glaciers, also in Boston, with satisfactory results, and soon found himself in demand as a lecturer in other cities. The year 1847 ripened into summer and found him still in the United States, living in a little house at East Boston with his Swiss friends, Count François de Pourtales, Edward Desor, and Jacques Burkhardt, pursuing his investigations for the King of Prussia and preparing for a second winter of lecture courses. The following winter he lectured in Boston and other cities while three events occurring in quick succession bound him to the United States.

In February, 1848 the French Republic was declared and Republicans arising swiftly in Neuchâtel, which had been a dependency of Prussia, carried the Canton into the Swiss Confederation. Louis Agassiz' income from the King of Prussia promptly ceased, but Agassiz never in his life was at a loss for friends. At this critical juncture Mr. Abbot Lawrence, founder of the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, offered him the chair of natural history with a salary of $1,500 and he was soon installed at Cambridge where his household was increased by the arrival of Arnold Guyot and Leo Lesquereux who had left Switzerland after the revolution.[1] About this time Mrs. Agassiz died and Agassiz' European ties, except with his mother and children, were considerably loosened.

At Harvard the forty-year old Agassiz was a colleague of Felton, Longfellow, Pierce, Asa Gray; and Jeffries Wyman and Channing, Hawthorne, Dana, Holmes, Emerson, Ticknor, Motley, and Lowell were among his friends. He began writing and publishing in English, joined the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and very soon sent for his son, Alexander. In 1850 Louis Agassiz married Miss Elizabeth Cabot Cary, a talented Bostonian, and this with the arrival of his two daughters from Switzerland completed

[1] Professor Guyot later secured an appointment to the chair of geology at Princeton College and Lesquereux proceeded to Sullivant's botanical laboratory at Columbus, Ohio, and later to his valuable labors in the coal fields of Pennsylvania for the Hayden Geological Survey.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his domestication. Thereafter he was an American, not to be lured back to Europe by tempting offers from the University of Zürich, or even by the most distinguished post at the Jardin des Plantes which Emperor Napoleon could command. In the darkest months of the Civil War he became a citizen of the United States and a founder of the National Academy of Science.

In addition to his work at Harvard Agassiz managed considerable travel and investigation. During the summer of 1848 he explored the region of Lake Superior with a group of students. The subsequently published account of the journey was an important contribution to American geology. Boston afforded Agassiz his first chance to study marine zoology and he spent many summer days sailing on Massachusetts Bay in the Coastal Survey Steamer, "Bibb," which was placed at his disposal. During the winter of 1850–1851 he executed a commission of the Coastal Survey to investigate the reefs, keys, and channels of Florida. The following two winters he was at Charleston, South Carolina, sandwiching a course at the Medical College there between the autumn and spring sessions at Harvard. During the first of these winters he was informed of the award of the Cuvier prize for his *Recherches sur les Poissons Fossiles*. The following winter he fell dangerously ill of a fever while at Charleston and upon his recovery resigned his medical professorship. A great deal of this activity was undertaken to eke out his professorial salary, since his ambitious schemes still outstripped his purse. In 1853, however, Mrs. Agassiz and his daughters hit upon a solution which at least spared him a good deal of travel. They established a school for girls at Boston and for ten years Agassiz conducted classes there in addition to his Harvard classes.

As a teacher Agassiz' main objective was to free students from the stultifying methods of learning by memory then in vogue. He passed specimens around in the classroom for examination, left his students closeted with one particular animal until they could make an intelligent report on its characteristics, and with many fervent pleas for the individual's right to choose the courses which developed his natural inclinations, championed the broadening of the elective system at Harvard. Continually he preached his doctrine, "Read nature, not books."

Agassiz' method of teaching required an immense amount of study

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

material. His incessant collecting and wide-spread encouragement of the practise emphasized this need. The difficulty of housing his material was, however, always a bugbear, from the days when his grandfather had given house room to an odd assortment of birds, fish, and shells. His European collections remained behind him in Neuchâtel, but hardly had he become settled in East Boston before a new accumulation piled up. An old boathouse on the Charles River served as a storehouse for a time and after a few years an old wooden building on the college grounds harbored them. Subsequently they were secured as a permanent part of Harvard by a subscription of $12,000 raised among his friends. But Agassiz dreamed of a museum where collections would be arranged to show the relation of each part of the animal kingdom to every other. Such exhibition halls would be, he thought, a potent means of training teachers of science, of awakening students to the significance of their studies, and of training the general public. Behind the exhibition halls of this nebulous institution he projected both laboratories for special students, with abundance of duplicate specimens and all the necessary instruments for study, and a library. He attained his dream. In 1858 Mr. Francis C. Gray, to whom Agassiz had outlined his museum plans, died, leaving a fund of $50,000 for the establishment of a Museum of Comparative Zoology; a grant of lands worth $100,000 was secured from the State Legislature; Harvard College gave an ample building site; and an additional fund of $70,000 was raised by private subscription. In 1859 the first section of the building was completed and the Museum of Comparative Zoology opened its doors to the public and its laboratories to students. The museum, soon known as the Agassiz Museum and despite its official title still so called, was the parent stem of all American natural history museums, including the American Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum at Salem, Massachusetts, as well as countless university departments of natural science and numerous seashore laboratories and experimental science stations.

The glacial theories which had so occupied Agassiz in Switzerland and the Brazilian material which had first introduced him to the scientific world had not been forgotten during his first strenuous years in the United States. Whenever opportunity offered, as in the journey to Lake Superior, the glacial indications were always care-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fully studied, while the incredibly rich variety of life in the southern hemisphere lay always at the back of his mind.

In 1856 Agassiz' almost boundless energy and enthusiasm were practically exhausted. Mr. Nathaniel Thayer of Boston, realizing this, suggested an exploring expedition to the Brazilian jungle and with his financial aid and that of Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, the plan became feasible. With sixteen assistants from the museum staff Mr. and Mrs. Agassiz set forth upon a sixteen months' adventure which enriched the museum's collections, enlarged the world's knowledge of Brazil, and revived and refreshed Agassiz. But in 1869, shortly after his mother's death, Louis Agassiz collapsed. His brilliant, over-worked mind refused to maintain its killing pace and he retired to Deerfield, Massachusetts, where he rested from all mental labor for almost a year. He returned to Cambridge with renewed vigor and in December, 1871, at the invitation of Professor Benjamin Pierce of the United States Coastal Survey, he embarked upon a cruise from Boston around Cape Horn to San Francisco in a deep-sea dredger, the U.S.S. "Hassler." The journey included many stops along the east and west coasts of South America and at the islands scattered in their path through the Caribbean Sea.

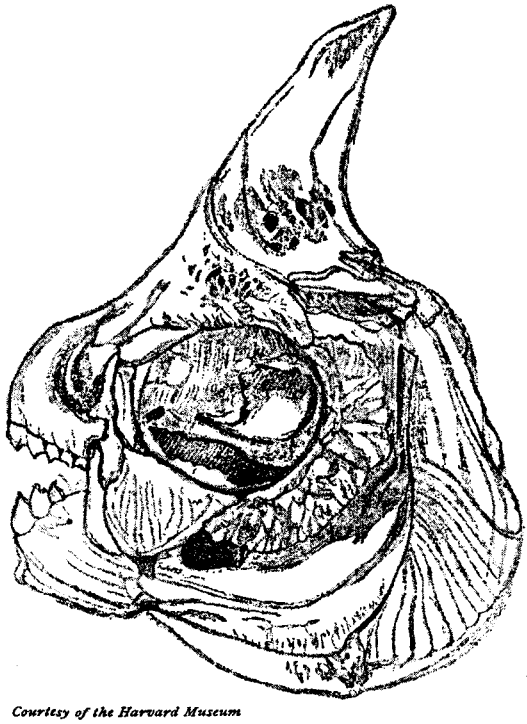
Returning to Cambridge in October, 1872 Agassiz found that his students had evolved a project which he found particularly appealing—a proposal to establish a summer seashore laboratory where teachers from schools and colleges could spend their vacations in the study of nature. As a brand-new idea, however, the plan was utterly lacking in financial support. Agassiz approached the Massachusetts Legislature for funds and received the publicity due a man whose name was known all over the country to school children, teachers, fishermen, smelters, miners, geologists, coal operators, farmers, and lecture audiences. Mr. John Anderson, a wealthy tobacco merchant of New York, who read the appeal, offered his island of Penikese, lying at the entrance of Buzzards Bay, and scarcely was this offer accepted before he added an endowment of $50,000. Students were called for, and from among the applicants twenty-eight men and sixteen women were carefully selected. With Louis Agassiz as director and Burt G. Wilder of Cornell University, Arnold Guyot of Princeton, and Alpheus S. Packard of Brown as assistants, the school opened its classes in July, 1873.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All went well but in the autumn Agassiz was weary. He worked rather grimly. In the middle of a December afternoon he went home, complaining that he was tired. Eight days later, on December 14, 1873 he died. He was buried at Mount Auburn in a grove of Swiss pine trees with a boulder from the Aar glacier as his monument.

Although Agassiz was a contemporary of Darwin, he did not welcome Darwin's theories. Yet he paved the way in his students' minds for a conception of evolution as far-reaching as any Darwin ever proposed. By his vast researches into fossil and living forms, by his insistence upon the comparative study of anatomy, by his study of the development of embryos and brains, by his brilliant development of the theory of the glacial age, and by his amazing industry, he established his right to the title—Louis Agassiz, Teacher.

This drawing of the skull of the Caribe, or Piranha, famous carnivorous fish of the Amazon and other South American rivers, is one of the few line drawings by Agassiz. The vast majority of his drawings are colored.



Courtesy of the Harvard Museum

Skull of the Caribe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Private Property or Capitalism

HERBERT AGAR
Author

THE first period of liberalism in modern American politics, the Progressive Era, came to a sordid end in 1921. The "Square Deal" of Theodore Roosevelt and the "New Freedom" of Wilson gave way to the "normalcy" of Harding. Liberalism failed because it did not correctly analyse the problem it sought to cure. A famous *New Yorker* cartoon shows two men drifting about on life-preservers in an angry sea, one of them remarking, "fundamentally the ship was perfectly sound." That is the root error of liberalism, as it showed itself in the first two decades of the century. The liberals were convinced that fundamentally America was perfectly sound, that with a little tinkering at the laws and a little more honesty of administration all would be well. In fact there was already grave danger that all might be ill. The American people were already at the crossroads and had to choose their way for good or bad. We are still at the same crossroads today, but not being gypsies we cannot camp there for ever.

The United States, when Theodore Roosevelt became president, had a democratic form of government suitable to a nation of property-owners in which a majority of families had a real stake in the country. But the United States was rapidly becoming a country in which the large majority of the citizens were proletarians—a word that has been defined as meaning "a man politically free, that is, one who enjoys the right before the law to exercise his energies when he pleases (or not at all if he does not so please), but not possessed by legal right of control over any useful amount of the means of production." In a country where a few people own most of the means of production and the majority of people is proletarian, democracy has always been and must always be a farce. There is no good, in such a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country, in calling the rich men names or in passing laws prohibiting them from buying a controlling interest in the government. The most that such laws can do is to make the buying somewhat more complicated, and somewhat more gratifying to the rich men's lawyers. But democracy cannot be saved in a country in which a small group controls the means of production. If the forms of democracy are kept they will merely become a soiled screen for plutocracy. The honest choice before such a country is either to let the rich own the government openly, just as they own everything else, or to prevent them from owning everything else, either by restoring the institution of private property or by creating the institution of communism. It is this choice which the liberals of yesterday failed to face—a failure which explains why the Progressive Era of Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson came to nothing, or rather why it came to Harding, who may fairly be described as worse than nothing.

The friends of "normalcy," of course, were even further from facing the facts than were the Progressives. They therefore led us steadily and enthusiastically to 1929 and to the subsequent débâcle under Mr. Hoover. As a result in 1932 the country turned again to a liberal. On the evidence of the speeches and articles collected in his book, *Looking Forward*, Mr. Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 was a traditional American liberal, full of humanitarianism and of zeal for reform, but unaware that a vital change was required. The collapse of February and March, 1933, made him revise his views, and plan for a more thorough reorganization of the United States. It appears, however, that this reorganization is still being carried on from the liberal point of view, that is, from the point of view of one who holds that democracy and capitalism can somehow be made to work together—that the existing American system is fundamentally sound. And it is hard to see how the new liberalism can be more successful than the old.

This is not to suggest that Mr. Roosevelt himself will fail. Mr. Roosevelt appears to combine the adaptability of Proteus with the wile of Ulysses, and if his present purpose is indeed unrealistic he will doubtless change it in time. The point of this essay is not to discuss Mr. Roosevelt's chances but to try and suggest that the liberal approach to the American problem will not lead to a stable solution today any more than it did yesterday. (And at the same time I hope

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to suggest that the conservative approach could lead to a solution both stable and agreeable.)

If all we had to do was to cure abuses in a system that is healthy at root, liberalism would be what we need. But our task is not to repair the existing system and then administer it with more conscience and more humanity; our task is either to build a new system or to restore the old one that is almost destroyed. The job, in other words, calls for revolution or else for true conservatism.

One error underlying American liberal thought is the belief that the United States is now engaged in a struggle to preserve a system of private property against the menace of communism. In fact the traditional American social order, which was based on the institution of private property, has already been largely supplanted by thoroughgoing capitalism. And the essence of capitalism (and this has been true ever since its origins in the 16th and 17th centuries) is that property in significant amounts is not owned by the ordinary citizen. Everybody in America may still own *something*. But only a small proportion of the population owns a share in the means of production —land, tools, natural resources. It is only when private property in this real sense is widely distributed that the institution of private property can be said to exist; it is only then that the benefits of that institution (such as responsibility, enterprise, family stability) can be expected. But when the means of production are owned by a very small percentage of the population it is vain to expect the watching millions to be filled with enterprise or endowed with responsibility or hope. It is this latter state to which America has come today. And the name of this state is capitalism. And capitalism is the negation of private property. But the liberal continues to talk and plan as if capitalism *meant* private property, which explains why the liberal finds it hard to solve the problems raised by capitalism. An amusing example of this lack of realism was offered by Mr. William Wirt when he complained that members of the President's Brain Trust were out to destroy "the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln." Mr. Wirt might just as reasonably have been shocked if some rash youth had suggested destroying the America of Pocohontas.

This confusion between capitalism, which means the denial of private property (in any significant amounts) to the vast majority of the nation, and the true system of private property which capitalism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is supplanting, has persisted in America for reasons that are not hard to find. During the first generations of its life the United States really was a nation of property-owning citizens; that is, a large proportion of American families owned something real (such as land, or a store, or a machine shop, or a small factory), with the result that such ownership was the basic institution of American life and set the tone of that life. Americans were proud of this institution and they have naturally been slow to notice its disappearance. Also, during the generations after the Civil War, when capitalism encroached more and more fatally upon the old America, the steady settling of new groups of farmers in the West meant that there were still many Americans of modest financial status who were genuine owners of property. Those whose hearts still lay with the America of Washington and Jefferson could avert their eyes from the heavily populated districts and dream that the "real America" was still a land of free farmers, that the United States was still based on private property. It is this dream, and the failure of analysis which this dream encourages, which defeated the liberalism of the Progressive Era.

The time has now come when it would be fatal to persist in a false analysis of our plight. It may not be too late to make a modern version of the America of Washington and Jefferson in which it will once again be normal for American families to own real property. But it will very quickly become too late unless we notice what is going on around us and act accordingly. Everyone knows that the thing which is going on around us is called capitalism but strangely few people know what capitalism means. It is therefore worth repeating that capitalism, in its pure state, means that almost all productive property is owned by a very few and that almost nothing is owned by the very many. The great difference between modern capitalism and the classical slave state is that under modern capitalism the propertyless majority is politically "free."

The best that can be said for modern American capitalism is that it is not quite capitalism in its pure state. It is capitalism tempered by humanitarianism—by rather more humanitarianism under a liberal administration, by rather less under a reactionary administration. But we have reached a state of tension and instability in which no amount of tempering, or of temporising, is of any benefit. A real solution is demanded. And there are only three real solutions logically possible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first solution is communism. Take the means of production away from the few and let the state administer them for the good of the many. This is at least an honest system which admits what it is doing and can give a moral basis for its action. And perhaps in the long run communism may prove to be compatible with true democracy. Those of us who think that this is highly unlikely base our view on the belief that the institution of private property is deeply rooted in human desire and that the communist solution for the dilemma of capitalism, though logical, will always have to be maintained by force. But if communism were the only alternative to what we have, it might at least be a better and a more stable social order.

The second solution may be described as an American version of fascism. This would lead to a confirmation of the few in their ownership of the means of production, while at the same time definite minimum rights and a definite status are conferred on the many: The capitalist proletariat, during a time of slump, has nothing to fall back on except the vote (which under capitalism is a fake) and "liberty" (which under capitalism is a myth). The fascist proletariat would have a right to a decent living at the community's expense in return for an abandonment of its "liberty" and an acceptance of the obligation to work when work is given it. Obviously this would be the negation of the old American system. It would, in a sense, be the modern world's version of the classical slave state. But it would be stable and it would be realistic, and again it would be better than the present disheartening pretense. Under fascism the national income would be more fairly distributed but ownership of the national resources would remain the prerogative of the very few. Although the fascist state would probably be more obnoxious to liberals than to any other group it is toward just such a state that liberalism tends. For liberalism, by refusing to go boldly to the right or to the left, prolongs the present disequilibrium. In the course of time, under such a policy, fascism will become the one alternative to a smash.

The third solution is conservatism: a return to the original American system under which the ownership of property is the normal expectation for a family. The word "conservative" is usually applied, in the United States, to the politics of Big Business. This is a misuse of language, for it is the politics of Big Business which has been destroying traditional America. If any return to that Amer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ica is possible it will be by the policy known as "distributism"—the revival of the common ownership of real property. Consequently it is reasonable to annex the word "conservative" for this policy.

The fact that these three solutions were the only possible outcome of capitalism was foreseen as long ago as 1912 by Mr. Hilaire Belloc. "To solve capitalism," wrote Mr. Belloc, "you must get rid of restricted ownership, or of freedom, or of both." Conservatism, as I have here used the word, would do the first: it would get rid of restricted ownership. Fascism would do the second: it would get rid of freedom. Communism would do the third: it would get rid of both. Liberalism is an untenable attempt to keep both, to find some way of making restricted ownership and freedom live side by side. It cannot be done. The longer the effort goes on, the greater will be the tension and the instability of our social order. Restricted ownership will make freedom, for the propertyless majority, more and more of a fraud. In good times this may not be resented but in bad times it breeds a revolutionary situation, sooner or later destroying the society based on these two incompatibles.

If liberalism—if the present combination of restricted ownership, humanitarianism, and democratic forms of government—is too unstable, the American people must choose between the possible ways out. If the choice be put off too long communism will come from the sheer force of economic determinism. But that danger is still in the future. For the present the choice lies between what I have called conservatism and what I have called fascism. Fascism can make a fairer distribution of the national income than is now known and can guarantee a decent living to the proletariat if the proletariat will accept permanently a working-class status. Conservatism, slowly and with difficulty, can redistribute ownership and not merely income. It offers risks and responsibilities rather than bread and circuses. But it also offers the only realistic way of reviving that much-mentioned America of Washington and Jefferson. Which course will the American people choose?

There is a popular delusion which tends to obscure the issue by making the conservative choice sound impractical. According to this delusion the industrial revolution (and still more the power revolution of the past few decades) has made small property-holdings impossible, since nowadays the economic production of most goods

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

requires machines that are too costly for the ordinary owner to possess. There is only one ray of truth in this argument—namely, that in a society which does not intend to cherish the institution of private property, a society which is perfectly willing to let things rip according to the laws of economic determinism, the tendency in the modern world is for the means of production to get into fewer and fewer hands. But to say that this tendency is a law of nature and that it cannot be thwarted is to say a lie. If the American people made up their minds that they really wished to return to a system of private property it would be quite possible for the modern tools of production to be owned on a share-system by companies whose shares had a real meaning. The first step toward such a system would be to break the existing credit-monopoly, which gives finance the power to make all so-called ownership a joke. The second step would be to pass laws to foster and protect the small owner, creating artificial disadvantages in the path of enormous concentrations of ownership. The details of such a program have been worked out and can be found in the copious literature of distributism; they need not be repeated here. But what does need constant repetition is that there is nothing about modern machine technique which makes the system of distributed private property impossible. It may be true that the system would cost something, that it would be slightly "uneconomic" as compared with the capitalistic concentration of ownership. But if the American people decide they want to own real property there is no reason to believe they lack the fortitude to pay the price. Heaven knows they have a potential abundance out of which to pay it.

The real reason why modern industrialism has tended to destroy private property and to be a curse instead of a blessing is that the industrial revolution took place in eighteenth century England, which was already a capitalist country, a land where most of the means of production were owned by a very few people and where control over the national credit had already been taken away from the Government and made the monopoly of a tiny group. In such circumstances, as Mr. Belloc and others have repeatedly pointed out, the effect of the machine was to aggravate an already nasty state of affairs, to increase the already unpardonable gulf between the Two Nations. Had the machine first come to a nation in which private property was widely distributed, it could have increased the com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mon wealth, increased the amount of property that the normal family held. Instead, it led rapidly to the state described with ferocious indifference by nineteenth century economists, who spent evil hours proving the obvious falsehood that it was "scientifically" impossible for the proletariat ever to get more than a bare subsistence wage. Indeed, said these economists, if the proletariat was unwary enough to breed too fast its wage would have to fall below subsistence level until starvation had reestablished "the army of unalterable law."

It was under such auspices and with such bad example that industrialism spread to America. It is no wonder that here too it worked hand in hand with the growing system of capitalism for the death of private property. But the fact that it did so work is no proof that it had to or that it must be allowed to go on working in that fashion to the end. The instinct for private property is still a live thing in America; it is the task for conservatives to foster it. To accomplish this task they must do three things. First, they must destroy the illusion that capitalism is a system of private property; second, they must destroy the illusion that industrialism is incompatible with private property; third, they must strive to rouse an active, conscious demand from the American people for a return to a state of things wherein most families may reasonably hope to hold a share of the nation's means of production.

If they can do all this they can preserve America, not only from communism, the threat of the future, but from fascism, the threat of today. For it is quite on the cards that just as the old liberalism of the Progressive Era died away into Harding and the Ohio Gang, so the new liberalism, if unalleviated by conservative thought, may die away into fascism and the modern slave state.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shelley: Values and Imagination

BENNETT WEAVER

Assistant Professor, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Michigan

IN contemplating our world, which in simple faith we have given over to the administration of practical men and men of common sense, we have come to know either that these men have not been practical enough, have not used enough common sense, or that they have actually lacked certain qualities of mind which are necessary to our corporate safety and satisfaction. As individuals we are being driven to seek the old and perhaps eternal centers of power within ourselves; as nations, in our more desperate moments, we seem to be wallowing our way toward chaos and the illimitable abyss. We have been sweeping forward with such fearful speed that neither as persons nor as peoples have we had time to pitch our tents before the watch-towers of the dawn. We have seen many a strong knight lying upon his broken lance beside some fort of folly and we have gone on in our weariness, sick with the chatter of the battlements, dead sick with the long contention about swans and geese.

Still it is the faith of some of us that in poetry of that imaginative sort which perceives values "our race will find an ever surer and surer stay." There seems to be a high reasonableness in such words as these from Shelley's *Defence of Poetry:*

> We have more moral, political, and historical wisdom than we know how to reduce into practice; we have more scientific and economical knowledge than we can accommodate to the just distribution of the produce which it multiplies. The poetry in these systems of thought, is concealed by the accumulation of facts and calculating processes. There is no want of knowledge respecting what is wisest and best in morals, government and political economy, or at least, what is wiser and better than what men now practise and endure. But we let *I dare not* wait upon *I would,* like the poor cat in the adage. We want the creative faculty to imagine that which we know; we want the generous impulse to act that which we imagine; we want the poetry of life: our calculations have outrun our conception; we have eaten more than we can digest. The cultivation of those sciences which have enlarged the empire

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of man over the eternal world, has, for want of the poetical faculty, proportionally circumscribed those of the internal world; and man, having enslaved the elements, remains himself a slave.

These words in themselves may seem to us a little strange as coming from "a beautiful and ineffectual angel beating in a void his luminous wings in vain." I need not say in passing that I believe Matthew Arnold's rather anomalous opinion of angels, arising out of what may have been a certain Victorian want of familiarity with such creatures, must long since have been corrected by the blasts of Gabriel summoning an effective escort to lead the great critic to his mansion near seas of faith forever at the full. And it may seem more than a little strange that one should associate with political and economic problems those values which may be perceived through imagination. But it was Shelley's conviction that there is at last only one utility, that which in the highest sense assures men of abiding happiness. He was poet enough to know that man is overset by a great reality and a final need—the "on earth" reality and the "Thy will" need. He, more than most poets, opens to the American scholar the privilege of being interested, graciously or sternly interested in the affairs of men. Here in America where the calculating faculty has outrun the poetical faculty, and where because of this fact we face the deserts ahead with only the waters of Marah in our canteens, Shelley would declare the function of the imaginative man. As scholars we must turn from indulging in the mannerisms of those who potter over dusty inconsiderables and we must accept this higher function with dignity and with energy.

I wish to submit, further, that it was out of direct familiarity with the conditions of his day that Shelley's philosophy grew. He was born on a farm in Sussex and grew up observing that it is a silly and an evil business to pay poor rates to farm laborers, thereby depriving them of an opportunity to earn an honest living. Near his Sussex home were camps of soldiers offering him evidence, as the ruined villages of France later did, of the tragic stupidity of war. While he was yet a boy he learned the ways of a university, sister to that institution which Professor Thomas Gray called by the name of Babylon, insisting with a delicious whimsicality that it was the place of which the prophet spoke when he said, "Their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there; their towers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shall be a den forever, a joy of wild asses." Shelley lived in Edinburgh and York, in the northwest and southwest counties. He entered English politics through the wild alleys of Dublin. He shared his substance with the poor people of Marlow who were being starved by the power looms. And he himself starved and suffered from the law in the London of "Lawyers-judges-old hobnobbers." Much, much more of Shelley's writing has come from a first-hand familiarity with facts than has sometimes been supposed. A modern critic of this poet fails beyond censure if he leaves the impression that the values which Shelley sought were abstract, void-born intellectualizations unassociated with human realities, that by speaking of this poet's imagination he refers to some faery faculty which produces only delicate lyrics of the wind.

Since Shelley has been so often misunderstood, and misunderstood by worthy men like Matthew Arnold who should have brothered him in wisdom, I wish to call attention to what I think is a very important thing. That thing is this: the first six years of Shelley's literary life were mainly given to prose. His interests were not indefinite, and they were largely social and political. He thought of himself as taking a hand in English affairs. None of the poets of England, not even John Milton, has left us evidence of such clear understanding and sound sense, at the age of twenty, as did Shelley in his Irish documents. Maugre the Pauline attitude and phraseology of those documents and the fusion of French lemmata in them, we have now to observe that all of those things for which Shelley spoke, in so far as England and Ireland have become well adjusted, have been written into law. I may say that I believe the adjustment would have been still more happy had the English heeded the first of his principles, which was that moral righteousness and political transactions should not be separated; and had the Irish heeded the second, which was that all political rights gained and changes wrought can be insured only by the worthiness of the people to enjoy them. Among his other prose writings we must remember his *Letter to Lord Ellenborough*, a trenchant appeal for judicial justice; his treatise upon the public crime of capital punishment, a document which today might be read with applause; his plea for the poor of England, written at the time of the death of Princess Charlotte; his *Proposal for Putting Reform to a Vote*, a work which has been called the most

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sane and sensible political writing of the era. We remember, also, his *Refutation of Deism*, a Socratic attempt to argue away those portions of the Old Testament which now few of us care to retain; and his *Essay on Christianity* of which Stopford Brooke has said, "There is no more remarkable vindication of Jesus, and no more remarkable anticipation of the position Jesus will take in the future." Finally we remember his *Philosophical View of Reform*, the ultimate criticism of which lives in the invitation to read it; and the exquisite *Defence of Poetry* which not to read is an ultimate criticism of ourselves. Whether it be because they were his or not, the principles of Shelley are being driven through and through the consciousness of Europe. What an ingenious paradox it is that Matthew Arnold, having failed to see that Shelley's poetry and prose are of one piece, should have felt that his "delightful Essays" would "come to stand higher than his poetry."

I have already said what I regard as primary and fundamental if Shelley is to be understood, namely, that his poetry and his prose are largely of one piece and essentially of one purpose. That purpose you have heard Shelley himself say is to bring wisdom into our political, economic, and moral practice; to center man within himself and to make him master of the external world; to quicken all that we know by the creative power of imagination until we put the highest and the best truth into deeds and make it real. In short, the grand purpose of Shelley's work is, through the power of imagination, to determine and to release into human living those ultimate values without which "how poor a thing is man."

This young man growing into a mastery of many languages and a familiarity with many literatures and philosophies moved forward in his maturity toward Athens and Jerusalem. The maturity of Shelley, like that of most men who escape the dizzy raptures and animal appetites of youth, began in agony. The workings of this maturing force in him we shall not attempt to trace. I merely wish to recall the fact that in his twenty-fourth year the body of the lovely Harriet Westbrook was found in the Serpentine river. Whether it be true or not that "the heart of an honest man is horrible" I cannot know, since the lanthorn I carry is a simple one such as Stevenson kept under his coat, not a savage machine fitted with the X-ray bulbs of Joubert. But of this I am sure, that the death of his first wife and the loss of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his children affected Shelley deeply. It was then—and we should mark this—that in the main Shelley turned from prose to poetry. He did not change his purpose, he changed his medium. He did not shift his values, he sought them with surer genius. Within him the quicks of pain had been torn open; about him he saw the bitter misery of the poor; death he believed to be near, and wanting desperately to get something done, he turned to poetry. This was the natural response of his genius to a drastic situation. Make of it what we will, Shelley insisted that it is "poets—those who imagine"—who "are the institutors of laws and the founders of civil society," it is poets, imaginative men, who are "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." This is an enormous claim, and it brings us to the very front of our problem. In simple words we have now to consider values and imagination as Shelley conceived them; and, guided by his mind, we have to determine how values may be discerned by the imagination and secured by it. We are accepting his assumption that there are values, and that the mind does have the power to know and to cherish them—an "awful power" which rises "from the mind's abyss," a power which "Through sad incompetence of human speech" we call Imagination. Since nothing would have satisfied Shelley more than the quoting of Wordsworth to illume his meaning, I wish to continue—

> Imagination, which, in truth,
> Is but another name for absolute power
> And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
> And Reason in her most exalted mood.

In using the word in no other way than I conceive Shelley to have used it I am taking no issue with the Greek distrust of *phantasie;* and I especially would avoid that issue because I am convinced that that distrust lived in the mind of the most imaginative of the Greeks. That the greatest poet of Greece, and the man whom Shelley admired more than any other except the greater poet of Galilee, warned us against a certain seething temper should be sufficient. Remembering that Chaucer assures us that

> Men may dye of imaginacioun

I naturally do not in Shelley's name refer to that deadly intervolving torquacity of mists which arises from the boiling brains of frenzy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I prefer rather to indulge in Shakespeare's mischievous laughter, the wise laughter of an initiate. I do not refer to the self-deceiving power which Pascal reduced mathematically to miserable integers of zero, or to that cowardly thing with cataracts on its eyes, bowing ever with its back toward truth, the thing which Spinoza had imagination enough to destroy. But I do refer, as I believe Shelley would have me do, to that absolute power, ample and exalted, which dwells most intimately within the mind of man. The grand assumption from which Shelley's idea of the imagination depends is that moving above us and among us there is an "overruling Spirit of all the energy and wisdom included within the circle of existing things." This Spirit is not the mere anthropomorphic projection of the mind of man, conjured by fear, determined by need. It is the true ultimate and absolute. Between the mind of man and this Spirit, between the will of man and this Spirit there may exist the most exquisite consentaniety. Within the human being lives an imperial principle which may harmonize him with this Intellectual Beauty, continuing his life upward, above himself erecting himself. In turn this Spirit of Beauty being in need of our need consecrates all that it shines upon of human thought or form. In short, says Shelley, "This Power is God." Now a greater than Shelley said, "In Him we live and move and have our being," and the world was not offended. And again one whom Matthew Arnold thought greater than Shelley said, "*In la sua voluntade e nostra pace*," and the world was not offended. But Shelley, striving for a perfect suggestion of the vital one-ness of man exalted with the Infinite and the One, quoted a greater poet than either Paul or Dante, and said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." If, by means of paraphrase, I might relate this beatitude to our study and in that relationship give it clear and inevitable meaning I would say, "Blessed are the *imaginative*, for they shall see God."

For Shelley, then, there was an Infinite Spirit of Beauty and the mind was charged with a divine puissance by which it might commune with that Spirit. It is not to be wondered at that he looked upon that puissance with awe and acknowledged its workings with rapture, for thus did and ever shall the prophets. All of us employ such means as we can to assure ourselves of some value. We may give ourselves in noble sadness to animal faith. Knowing that we are poor pieces of agglutinated dust, we yet lift ourselves from the sure foundations of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unyielding despair. If we be strong men we shall cry out all bloody of brow that we are still the masters of our fate. Others of us seek silence quickly. But for Shelley the power that redeemed "from decay the visitations of the Divinity in man," the power that turned all things to loveliness, the power that made "immortal all that is best and most beautiful in the world, the living power and prime agent" by means of which he participated in the activity of the Infinite was imagination.

As contradistinguished from mere Reason, not "Reason in her most exalted mood," Imagination is the imperial and creative power which imparts to its proper thought or deed something of that ever-pristine Genius which "creates anew the universe." Says Shelley: "Reason is the enumeration of quantities already known; imagination is the perception of the *value* of those quantities. Reason is to the imagination as the instrument to the *agent*, as the body to the *spirit*, as the shadow to the *substance*." And the expression of the imagination which perceives value is poetry.

When Shelley says, then, that "Poets are those who imagine" he means that poets are those who perceive values with clearest insight; and secondly when he says that "Poets are the institutors of laws, the founders of civil society, the teachers and the legislators of the world" he means that poets are those who make available to man the values which they perceive. Shelley would qualify Emerson. The Concord sage with great justice and cool sense states that "All institutions are but the lengthened shadows of a few imaginative men." The English poet would say, "All institutions of *value* are the spreading light of those who through imagination have drawn into propinquity with the Beautiful and the True."

We may be sure, then, that Shelley is not indulging in a rhapsody of words when he speaks of the high nature of poetry and when he expects that it is the poet who will come close home to men's bosoms and their business with the values which they need. For, as Wordsworth has said, the poet breathes out the breath and the finer spirit of all knowledge. "He is the rock of defence for human nature. He binds together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society." Refining and extending the thought of the man who in respect of poetry might justly be called his master, the younger genius goes on to say that "Poetry is indeed something divine. It is at once

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the center and the circumference of knowledge"; and, being that which comprehends all science, it "creates new materials of knowledge and power and pleasure" and arranges them "according to a certain order which may be called the beautiful and the good. It is as it were the interpenetration of a diviner nature through our own"; or, to change the figure, "it arrests the vanishing apparitions which haunt the interlunations of life. Poetry is the record of the best and the happiest moments of the happiest and best minds." It expresses life in its eternal truth.

It would now seem palpable and open that if poets are imaginative men, and that if "Poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds," the highest values we can know are those revealed in this supreme imaginative record. Surely it were a wayward seeker for values who would turn either to the unhappy moments of the best minds or to the happiest moments of the second best. And we are the more willing to accept the urgency of Shelley when we remember that among the ancients he puts first the minds of Plato and Jesus, and among the moderns the minds of Dante, Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton. Again it were wayward indeed to try to better the choice.

But in the philosophy of Shelley there is a service imagination may perform for men more immediate than in expressing itself through poetry. Imagination may release values into life directly. If I may offer a paraphrase of his thinking I can draw the matter into a paragraph.

A man to be greatly good must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another; the pains and pleasures of his species must be his own. The great instrument of moral good is imagination, the presence or absence of which in its most perfect and universal form has been found to be connected with good and evil in conduct and habit. When imagination goes blind, men become calculating and selfish. They sell life for money, they sell love for money. They send nightmare armies down into the saffron marshes of death to glut some incubus king. It is not for want of admirable doctrines that men hate and despise and censure and deceive and subjugate one another. But imagination acts in another and a diviner manner. It awakens and enlarges the mind. It reveals to us that the great secret of morals is love or a going out of our own nature and an identification of ourselves which exists in some thought, action, or person not our own. It is indeed, for these reasons, past comprehension how much value and how much of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very life of being men have drawn from such poets as Plato and Jesus, and from that power which lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the mind and this goodly universe to which the mind is wedded.

Indeed, as Quiller-Couch has said,

> Our true poets are prophets. And of all our prophets, amid our present discontents Shelley still exerts over the mass of Englishmen an incomparable power. He has much to teach us yet. If he can teach us the root of his matter —that human society will never be reformed but on some law of love and understanding—he will come in time to an even greater kingdom than he yet inherits. Shelley's is a far stiffer, more positive genius than Shakespere's. Shelley preached, as Shakespere did not. Nevertheless a preacher of genius, if he be sincere, in the right sense poetical—that is, creative—will find the world come round to him. This has happened again and again to Isaiah. It has happened to Shelley.

Either there are values in life or there are not. Shelley assumed that there are. If there are, then there must be some faculty of the mind most suited to discern them. That faculty or power Shelley took to be imagination. The imagination, then, being imperial becomes the means through which man experiences the Infinite. In proportion as man becomes more imaginative he experiences more of the Infinite and becomes more God-like; and in proportion as he becomes more God-like he becomes more creative; and as he becomes more creative he knows more certainly the values of life; and as he knows more certainly the values of life, he would save that which is lost, and love all.

Love, from its awful throne of patient power
In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
  Of dread endurance, from the slippery, steep
And narrow verge of crag-like agony, springs
And folds over the world its healing wings.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
  To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
  Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Critique of Our Colleges

RICHARD A. LESTER
Department of Economics, Princeton University

A CARNEGIE FOUNDATION report, issued in the spring of 1933, condemned the lack of cooperation and the unnecessary duplication existing between educational units in this country. At the same time an entire issue of the *Journal of Higher Education* was devoted to the need of coordination in higher education and to the methods by which that could be accomplished. In the leading article Samuel P. Capen, Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, stated that our colleges and universities are more autonomous and self-contained than such educational institutions anywhere else in the world with the result that American educational history of the past three decades is filled with "the conflicts, the wasteful duplications, the indefensible compromises, and the narrow provincialisms" which are as familiar as they are unnecessary. To Chancellor Capen the waste of such needless duplication is so enormous as to constitute "an incomparable challenge" to leaders of education in this country.

The Yale School of Law and the Harvard School of Business Administration are attempting to meet that challenge and to initiate a much-needed reform in intercollegiate relationships. A four-year course in law and business, one year at Harvard and three at Yale, was announced and hailed as a "new departure," the "first course of its kind in the country," and a "novel experiment in American education." That it should be so exceptional for colleges and universities in this country to cooperate instead of to duplicate in matters educational is shocking, and surely is as much an indictment as a challenge. American business may merge, combine, and intertwine, have subsidiaries, affiliates, and interlocking directorates, but American colleges and universities still exist, like that well-known mythological character, the rugged individual, in a state of splendid isolation.

Of course our colleges have some connections with each other. There are intercollegiate athletic contests and debates and, now and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

again, outside professors are invited for a formal talk or Sunday services. It is rather strange though that the contacts between our institutions of higher learning are chiefly athletic in nature. And even such athletic connections, like diplomatic relations between sovereign states, are severed every so often. Like sovereign states, certain of our colleges pursue a policy of non-recognition toward other institutions of higher education. Some of them refuse to give full credit for work successfully completed under another set of instructors. Is it any wonder then that our colleges breed the blind loyalty, the 100 per-cent-ism, the smugness of small minds, so characteristic of small towns and isolated communities? We tell of the educational value of travel in other countries; of how it broadens one's outlook to meet new people, visit new places, think new thoughts, and do different things. Yet travel between our colleges is confined chiefly to those undergraduates who, to use the vernacular, don't make the grade. Though in Germany it is the exceptional student who has not been to at least three different universities while many have been to six or eight, here, if an undergraduate mentioned that he had been to three universities, the listener would surely conclude that he had been "kicked out" of the first two.

In fact the powers-that-be in and around our colleges frown upon transferring. One is supposed to select his college as he does his wife, for life. The prospective freshman is supposed to fall in love with but one alma mater and to remain true to her the rest of his college years—yes, even until the day he draws up his will. If after a year or two said undergrad feels that love has changed, but not to kindness toward certain of his professors, and he wishes to try out a new batch of them he probably cannot do so without losing certain accumulated "credits," and therefore instead of transferring he remains, under protest so to speak, at alma mater number one.

Nor is it much easier for graduate students to transfer. The same smug attitude that permeates the undergraduate colleges pervades the graduate schools. Princeton, Yale, and a number of other colleges, by written and unwritten rules and policies, favor their own alumni. Princeton graduates can obtain a master's degree with another year of study at Princeton whereas "outsiders," graduates of other colleges, must either spend two years at Princeton in order to add M.A. to their signatures or they must pass the departmental comprehensive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

examinations given to Princeton seniors, comprehensive exams based on undergraduate courses taught at Princeton.[1] So to favor the home-college product is to put a premium on complacency and to encourage an inbreeding of ideas.

All the conditions and traditions of American colleges stimulate what might be called intellectual incest. It is, for example, a good old American custom that offspring attend the alma mater the parent once graced or disgraced with his or her presence. There have been cases, so I have been told (undoubtedly in jest), where college entrance applications were filed before the birth certificate. Need one point out the dangers in such *mores?* Not only is the son, from the time he learns the meaning of the word economics, impregnated with the Taussigian variety which his Harvardian father received first-hand from the founder but throughout his college course he will be asked to gulp down, and regurgitate for grading purposes, the contents of Taussig's two-volume *magnum opus*. Much the same conditions exist in other colleges in this country all the way down the alphabet from Akron University to Yale. In many departments in almost every one of our universities the dead or retired hand of an outstanding personality still forces young minds into certain channels of thought and vision, outlook and opinion. After half a century "Sumnerology" still holds sway at Yale and for nearly thirty years the various editions of Fetter's textbook in economics introduced the Princeton product to that complicated subject.

I am not contending, not here anyhow, that the products of those brilliant minds have become outmoded, that time has left their intellectual efforts high and dry like the hulks of wrecked ships on the seashore. I likewise realize that it is only natural for professors who write textbooks to see to it that their books are adopted by their institutions and used not only in their own courses but in courses given by their colleagues or by their disciples in other institutions. My complaint is not a personal one. Rather it is directed at certain quite general conditions and traditions that make for intellectual inbreeding and mental dependence in the colleges of this country. I realize that professors, despite popular opinion to the contrary, are quite human. It is only natural for them to try to convert the student to their own

[1] Beginning this fall the requirements for a master's degree at Princeton will be so changed that this complaint will not be pertinent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinions and beliefs and to demand that he know the textbook and their lectures "cold." Bertrand Russell once said: "The essence of education (as we know it) is a change, other than death, effected in an organism to satisfy the desires of the operator." I likewise realize that the head of a department in building up his staff—the departmental "farmer-in-the-dell"—will choose those whose ideas on the subject agree with his own and that he will most certainly give his former students preference. He knows them and knows that they are well trained—he did the job himself. All this is to be expected.

I am not asking that professors be as objective as joke-book judges or that they change their opinions and theories each day as they change their clothes. Nor am I alarmed because the social sciences, like religion and literary criticism, are divided into sects and schools of thought. A variety of opinion is a healthy sign. The unhealthy part of it all is that the student, confined to one university and a hand-picked staff of instructors in each department, does not get an opportunity to understand and appreciate the many and various schools of thought in the fields in which he is especially interested. Although it may be easier to ask and to correct quiz questions when students are dogmatically given but one point of view, nevertheless interest is whetted and independent judgment developed by controversy and a clash of opinion rather than by an absorb-it-or-flunk instruction.

In my opinion the educational opportunities offered by the colleges of this country have often been unduly restricted. To be more explicit on this point I shall take my own case although the experience of many others would do just as well. From my undergraduate study at Yale I was led to believe that the definitions and economic "laws" italicised in the textbook which I as a sophomore memorized for the ten-minute quizzes were just about the last word in economic "science"; that they were quite universally accepted by enlightened minds. In fact, as candidates for the Yale sheepskin we were convinced that our economics professors "knew their stuff cold" and the professors themselves seemed inclined to agree with us. Much to my surprise soon after receiving my brand-new twenty-dollar degree I learned that the very things which these professors seemed so sure about themselves they were ardently arguing with equally well-known professors in those scientific magazines that cost $1.25 or so an issue. Had I not continued my studies at Princeton I probably should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never have discovered that the well-dressed young man there learns quite different definitions and economic laws and that students at Columbia and New York University are exposed to a still different brand of economics, not to mention the more radical varieties like socialism, communism, and technocracy. In fact there are as many schools of economics as there are of psychology, but I never suspected it until Yale "graduated" me. As for my classmates, I feel sure that most of them will go the way of all flesh without even knowing how specialized their courses in economics really were.

Our colleges prescribe required courses. Undergraduates must select a certain number of hours from certain groups of subjects—all this in order that the student won't overspecialize and receive a one-sided training. Yet with such caution to prevent lop-sidedness what happens? Not only is a lump of Latin sandwiched in between a couple of slices of Shakespeare, not only is this departmentalized subject matter seldom well masticated and thoroughly digested, but the slices of Shakespeare, for example, are always served by the same professor or one of his group of disciples. It is as though one were limited to a single kind of bread, whole-wheat or rye, but not both.

Variety may be the spice of college life, but it is the lack of such variety that goes a long way toward making college education so dull and unsavory. To have had for one whole year, for two whole years, yes, even for three whole years the same sociology professor or the same system of sociological dogma drilled into one by constant reiteration and examination, is to have learned from bitter experience the full import of the doctrine of diminishing returns.

For intellectual stimulation and growth some sort of exchange of ideas and change of personalities is necessary. Either the professors or the students should be constantly shifting their bases of operation. Here in this country neither circulate to any extent and intellectual stagnation and mental lop-sidedness are often the result. What our colleges need is some sort of a medium of exchange of students or professors. On the continent each semester sees a flock of new faces at every university. Where the universities are all owned by the state a high velocity of circulation of students between institutions causes no difficulties and no loss of precious credits by those that transfer. Here in this country where most of the colleges and universities are privately owned, free trade in students and professors would be harder

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to accomplish, although such cooperation between our colleges should not be impossible. We have specialization and exchange in other lines —why not in colleges? If a student wants to study under two well-known professors in two different universities why can't it be so arranged that he can do so without being penalized for having such a worthy desire? If he wants to go to Princeton and also to take courses in sociology and anthropology, subjects not to be found in the Princeton catalogue, why shouldn't he, and still graduate with his class?

At present there is probably more swapping of professors and students between the colleges of this country and colleges in foreign countries than between the various colleges within this country. We have visiting professors and visiting scholarships but the visitors, except in summer sessions, usually bring passports and visas with them. Why not develop the domestic market?

There is another phase of this matter which should not be overlooked. In Europe, where students change universities more often and for more respected reasons, impartial outsiders are in many cases called in to give the final-degree examinations. But in this country the professor decides what he shall teach, how he shall teach, and by what tests he shall prove whether he has taught his subject well and whether the student is educated in that field. Here, if a student criticises the professor's doctrines and beliefs, the professor himself determines whether that criticism is valid, whether in order to pass the course the student must thoroughly learn something which seems to that student false. In this case the professor is the person who made the fundamental law italicised in his textbook (oddly enough revised every few years); he is the accused; and he is the judge who determines whether the accusation is valid and passes out the sentence, putting the student in his proper place in the curve of normal distribution. If he flunks the student there is no appeal. His judgment is final. This means that college students in this country must concentrate just as much on the professor as on the subject. Education becomes partly a question of personalities, previous reputation, and resignation. That is true to some extent the world over, but where students remain for four years in the same college with the same group of professors doing the professing and the examining, more and more emphasis is put upon knowing the professor instead of upon knowing the subject in all of its phases rather than just those in which the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

professor himself is especially interested. Petty incidentals and personalities play a part all out of proportion to their general importance.

All this points to the need for cooperation between the colleges of this country if our college students are to receive a broad, well-balanced training, a proper perspective instead of a knot-hole view of things. Such intercollegiate cooperation need not be on a national or regional basis, or elaborately planned, but it certainly is needed.

Every year some American undergraduates spend their junior year in Germany and return to their colleges in this country as seniors. Why couldn't the same sort of arrangement be made between some of the colleges within this vast and varied country of ours? Why couldn't arrangements be made for Stanford or Princeton undergraduates to spend their junior year at Yale and *vice versa?* If the college powers-that-be in this country only had the will to promote such an exchange there are many ways by which it could be accomplished. And I assure them that the mental vigor and added educational opportunities resulting from such cooperation between their institutions would be well worth the slight trouble that the bookkeepers in the dean's offices might be put to. Whether such a scheme would have as wholesome an effect on college athletics and fraternities as on the educational aspect of college life I leave for the reader to decide.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Speculation in American and English Stock Markets

RALPH GEORGE HAWTREY[1]
Director of Financial Inquiries, The British Treasury

A MARKET is an organisation for bringing buyers and sellers together in order that those in either group may know the terms on which those in the other are willing to do business. The result is, at any given moment, the establishment of a single market price for the thing dealt in, for no buyer will knowingly pay a higher price than another and no seller will knowingly accept a lower price than another. This state of things is by no means to be attained as a matter of course. The organisation of a market, far from looking after itself, is a formidable undertaking needing to be carefully planned and demanding much skill and hard work for its operation. Several different types of organisation are possible and the choice of the most appropriate will be governed by the circumstances of the market.

A Stock Exchange is a market for buying and selling stocks, shares and bonds, and similar securities. It offers securities to those who have money to invest and offers money to those who seek to raise capital by the issue of securities. But it also provides facilities for any holder of securities to sell them and in that respect it differs from most other markets. In the staple commodity markets the professional dealers operate both as buyers and sellers, but in general the buyers *outside* the market are not also sellers; they buy goods for use. Securities on the other hand, when acquired by an investor, are not "used" but held, and the Stock Exchange enables the holder to resell at any time. That is what makes speculation possible. Anyone who can foresee a change of price of any security can make a profit by dealing in it. The amateur speculator assumes for the moment the

[1] This article expresses the author's personal views and is not to be associated in any way with his official position in the British Treasury.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

character of a trader. He buys securities for the purpose of selling them again after a short interval. If he hopes to make a profit of, say, 2 or 3 per cent on the value of the securities he will not want to find the whole sum required to buy the securities out of idle funds of his own. It will be more convenient for him (as it usually is for a trader) to borrow the money or the greater part of it. In fact speculative transactions in stocks and shares are almost invariably financed by money temporarily borrowed.

Besides the speculative buyer of securities or "bull" there is the speculative seller or "bear." He takes the somewhat paradoxical course of selling before he buys, and selling, in all probability, a security which he does not possess. People speculate because they believe themselves to possess better information, or to exercise better judgment in interpreting the information generally available, than their competitors in the market. They believe they know better than the market. In a case where they think that the price of a security is going to fall, and where they therefore resort to a speculative sale, there is no reason why they should have already held any of the security. If they do not they can carry out their speculative sale by "borrowing" the security and when the speculation is completed they buy it in the market and deliver it to the lender.

The American Stock market is organised as a body of brokers. That is to say, the actual professional members of the Stock Exchange in New York (or other centers) are brokers, mere intermediaries between buyer and seller. People who wish to buy or sell a security give orders to their brokers (with or without a limit of price). In order to bring buyers and sellers together there will be, for any particular security, a small group of brokers who are "specialists" in that security and to whom the other brokers will, for the most part, bring both buying and selling orders for that security. Buying and selling orders can then be set against one another in the books of the specialist, and one specialist can set an excess of buyers against another specialist's excess of sellers. In this process a price has to be determined for the security dealt in. There is some continuity of prices, a standard being set at any moment for new transactions by the price at which transactions have just been completed. The limits of price named in some of the buying and selling orders may require a departure from this standard upwards or downwards. But the fundamental condi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of such a departure will be the existence of an excess of buyers or an excess of sellers in the market as a whole.

The making of the price will be in the hands of the specialists. So long as they operate as mere brokers they make the price quite impartially. Their business is confined to finding the price at which, as nearly as may be, all the buying and selling orders can be executed. By raising the price they can deter buyers and attract new sellers; by lowering it they can attract new buyers and deter sellers.

But the brokers do not in practice so limit their functions. Many of them also operate as buyers and sellers of securities. If they think the price of a security is low they can buy on their own account or, if they think it is high, they can sell. They thus become themselves a makeweight in securing equality between buyers and sellers. And they (or at any rate the specialists in the security) have the special advantage of seeing for themselves how the market is moving.

Perhaps the most striking difference between the London Stock Exchange and that of New York is the inclusion in the membership of the former of the class of stock jobbers, who are not brokers at all but are professional dealers or merchants of securities. In the London Stock Exchange it is the task of the brokers to bring the buyers and sellers from outside into communication not with one another but with the jobbers. When a jobber quotes a price it is the price at which he himself is prepared to deal. The practice is to quote two prices, one at which he is prepared to sell, the other slightly lower at which he is prepared to buy. The difference between the buying and selling prices (called the jobber's "turn") is the equivalent of a commission, always operating in his favor through all fluctuations of prices.

The broker who asks a jobber to quote a price does not disclose whether he wants to buy or to sell. That ensures a fair price. If the jobber makes the "turn" between his buying and selling prices unduly wide the broker may go to another jobber. Thus it is the jobbers who actually make prices, and they invariably back their quotations with their own money in that the quotation is an offer to do business. If in making prices they simply followed the market, raising prices whenever there is an excess of buyers and lowering them whenever there is an excess of sellers, they would always be losing. If they waited to lower prices till they had already bought more stock than they had sold they could only dispose of the excess at a loss, and simi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

larly if they waited to raise prices till they had already sold more than they had bought they could only replenish their holding at a loss.

To avoid such losses, which might easily far outweigh the gain made from the jobber's turn, it is essential that the jobbers *anticipate* the movements of prices. They must form their own judgment of all the events and considerations that are likely to influence the public in its willingness to buy or sell. If something occurs to make a security less attractive the brokers must reduce the price *before* the sales by the public increase. If the public are *unduly* influenced by the adverse cause the jobbers need not reduce the price so far as to check the increase of sales altogether. They can compromise on a price which will enable them to buy more than usual but at a price which still leaves room for recovery.

When the jobber allows his own holding of a security to increase or diminish he is himself speculating. He is backing with his own resources his belief that the existing market price of the security is, as the case may be, unduly low or unduly high. When jobbers seek to avoid speculation their object is to keep their books even, that is, to avoid any excess either of purchases or of sales. But they can only accomplish this by foreseeing the movements of demand and of supply, and in so doing they are assuming the task of a highly skilled speculation.

The jobber system, ensuring the intervention of a skilled professional dealer in every transaction, is a valuable stabilizing influence in the London Stock Exchange. But we should beware of exaggerating its advantages. Under the broker system there are of course professional dealers (both inside and outside the Exchange) who are on the lookout for any unjustified movement of prices and who will intervene to take advantage of it and thus to correct it.

For the action of the jobbers it can only be claimed that it is more systematic and continuous. Even the jobbers will not *always* quote a price, nor will they buy or sell unlimited amounts. At moments of extreme pressure or bewilderment markets are apt to break down or become nominal. Nevertheless the general tendency of their presence is to preserve the continuity and fluidity of markets and guard against irrational fluctuations of prices. That does not prevent or even discourage speculation but it does tend to make it somewhat less wild.

There are other important differences between the practices of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

London and New York. In New York the purchases and sales effected on the Exchange are settled every day. Every purchaser of securities must receive them and pay for them and every seller must deliver them. The speculative purchaser or "bull" can borrow the money to pay for the securities either from his broker or from a banker, the securities themselves being pledged to supply collateral, with the appropriate "margin" or additional security provided from the borrower's own resources. If, as is likely, the speculative seller is a "bear" who has sold short and does not possess the securities he has sold, he can "borrow" the securities from or through his broker. The brokers who hold securities on behalf of speculative purchasers are free to lend them to the speculative sellers. For when a broker buys securities on behalf of a client he does not hold them in trust for the client but merely assumes the obligation to deliver securities of that description to the client when called upon. He is legally a simple debtor of securities, as a banker is a simple debtor of money to his depositors. And thus in effect the daily settlement can be postponed from day to day till the speculative purchaser resells his stock and pays off his debt and the speculative seller discharges his obligation by buying stock and delivering it.

In London there is a settlement at intervals of a fortnight (sometimes three weeks). Transactions may be expressly for cash, involving immediate settlement, but otherwise neither stock nor money changes hands till the next settlement or "account" arrives. A speculative purchaser is for that period in the same position as if he borrowed the purchase money without margin. When the account comes he must pay the money and receive the stock but, if he wants to continue his speculation, he can arrange for the transaction to be carried over. That is to say, he can find a broker who will buy the stock at the market price of the day (certified as the "making up price" for that account) and will undertake for a consideration to resell it to him at the next account *at the same price*. This broker will then be in a position of borrowing the stock and lending the money. Since he sells the stock for the identical price at which he buys it he cannot make anything out of his fortnight's ownership of it and meanwhile his advance of the money to pay for it is a reality. His charge, called a "contango," has to cover interest on this advance. But it is not *mere* interest. Any unusual volume of speculation in a security, causing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressure on the facilities for carrying over, will force up the charge for that security substantially above the market rate of interest.

A speculative seller is likewise bound to settle at the next account, and can continue his speculation by finding a broker who will lend stock and borrow money. In general the speculative sellers, as lenders of money, will *receive* a payment for carrying over. But occasionally a great pressure of speculative selling will result in their having to pay for this facility. The charge made to them is called a "backwardation."

In the London, as in other Stock Exchanges, the speculative buyer or bull is far commoner than the speculative seller or bear. And the speculative buyer need not necessarily have recourse to the Stock Exchange for the requisite financial facilities. He can borrow from his banker and lodge his stock as collateral. In that case he will have to find "margin," that is to say, the banker will insist that the amount of the loan be less than the value of the collateral.

But when the broker provides the accommodation there is usually no margin at all required. When the bargain is first made the broker undertakes to provide the stock, and his client the money at the next account. If the bargain is carried over precisely the same arrangement is repeated. Since the bargains made at successive accounts are treated as entirely separate transactions the client, at each account, pays or receives whatever is due up to then in respect of any variation in the market price of the stock. If the price has risen since the previous settlement he receives the difference; if the price has fallen he pays the difference.

Stockbrokers could not afford to give these facilities to all comers without restriction. The opportunity offered to the swindling gambler who will pocket his gains if he wins and will be unable to pay or will evade payment if he loses would be obvious. The Stockbrokers require some introduction or recommendation to assure them of the character and means of those for whom they are to do business. Herein is an important difference between English and American practice. A conspicuous feature of the great speculation that culminated in the Wall Street Crisis of 1929 was the participation of innumerable people of small means. They readily found brokers to take margin accounts, which too often ate up all their savings. In England Stock Exchange speculation is more nearly confined to peo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ple of considerable substance. And the man of small means cannot obtain the requisite accommodation or margin to carry speculative shares as a matter of course from his banker. Bankers will exercise their own discretion as to the grant of an advance for such a purpose and they do not regard the offer of a little fatherly advice to a customer seeking it as by any means outside their province.

Stamp duties play a part in the calculations of the English speculator. For registered securities (which are more usual in the London market than bearer securities) there is a stamp duty of one per cent on every sale. If a speculator who buys resells before the next account he never actually takes delivery of the security and therefore pays no stamp duty. For a speculation extending (as it usually would) over at least one account, a stamp duty of one per cent (in addition to the broker's commissions and the jobber's turn) is a perceptible deterrent, restricting speculation to those cases where the prospect of gain seems sufficiently favorable to offset this certain expense.

Up to this point we have been considering the organisation and working of the Stock Exchange. There is another section of the investment market, which is not itself part of the Stock Exchange, the flotation of new capital issues. There are financial houses, called in England issuing houses and in America investment bankers, which specialise in this business. But it is sometimes undertaken by syndicates specially formed for the purpose. One of the principal requirements of the issuing business is to make adequate provision to ensure that the whole of any issue shall be taken up, that is to say, to place any residue that the public may fail to subscribe for. There are two principal ways of doing this. One is to obtain the services of underwriters, people of adequate resources and credit who undertake each to subscribe in case of need for an assigned portion of the issue. Any balance not taken by the public is divided among the underwriters proportionally. The underwriters are remunerated by a commission, which they receive whether they have to take up any of the issue or not. The business of an issuing house depends very much on its connexion with a sufficient number of people who are willing and able to act as underwriters. The underwriters are not necessarily associated with the Stock Exchange; they may be engaged in any kind of business provided they are able, when called upon, to provide the resources to take up their assigned portion of an issue. As an alternative,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in place of underwriters, a group may undertake themselves in the first instance to buy the entire issue, and (in so far as they do not desire to hold it permanently as an investment) may look forward to selling it at a profit in the market. Under that system the price of issue clearly ought to be low enough at any rate to afford the prospect of a profit at least equal to an underwriter's commission. Indeed, the probable profit ought to be substantially greater inasmuch as the issuers of the security are relieved altogether of the responsibility of finding buyers in the market.

Both methods of ensuring the placing of a new issue are pursued both in England and in the United States but on the whole the second is the favorite in the latter country. It may lend itself occasionally to big speculative profits, whereas underwriters can expect nothing beyond a modest commission.

Nevertheless new flotations as such are not an important source of speculation. Issuing houses and syndicates try to fix prices just sufficiently low to attract the public. To make any further concession on the price is contrary to the interests of the concern seeking capital. It may happen accidentally, at a time of very active markets, that the market price makes a big and rapid advance on the price of issue, but that is exceptional. In fact when speculation is really raging, the first sales of new issues are a small fraction of the total volume of Stock Market transactions.

That does not mean that new issues, once launched in the market, may not play a prominent part in a great speculative movement. London has had its experience of wild outbreaks of speculation and these have usually been related to the exploitation of some newly revealed opportunity, like the South African gold mines in 1896 or the rubber plantations in 1910. But the speculation on those occasions has been mainly in the purchases and sales of the securities after issue, and has been only to a subordinate extent concerned with the original terms of issue. London has likewise experienced a fairly general rise in shares of many different kinds at times of active business. But there has never been an ebullition at all like that of Wall Street in the years 1925–29.

Nevertheless it would probably be a mistake to impute this difference, except in a minor degree, to the technical differences between the two Stock Exchanges. The real explanation of the great

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Speculation is to be found in a transformation of business conditions. Between 1914 and 1925 there had occurred a great change in the purchasing power of money. The price level in the United States had risen to a maximum in 1920 and had then reacted. But even after the reaction it remained in 1925 nearly 50 per cent above the price level of 1913. And in reality this rise in the price level understates the extent of the monetary change that had occurred. Great technological progress had reduced the cost of production of many commodities since 1913; in terms of real cost it was a cheaper range of commodities that were priced 50 per cent higher in 1925. That fact is illustrated both by a rise of wages to more than double what they had been in 1913 and by a rise in the national income of the United States from $33,700,000,000 in 1913 to $77,-100,000,000 in 1925.

The severe depression of 1921 and 1922 had followed on the transitory and feverish activity of 1919 and 1920 and the recovery had been interrupted by a short depression again in 1924. The prices of stocks and shares in 1925 were still far from having been adjusted to the new level of money values. It was the carrying out of the requisite adjustment in the prosperous years 1925–29 that was the primary cause of the speculation. The speculative rise of prices certainly went too far (though the high point of September, 1929, was not a greater misrepresentation of intrinsic values than the low point of June, 1932). But that was very natural in the circumstances. The profits of industrial enterprises were, on an average, more than doubled, and the market only became convinced gradually of what was happening. The public had no data to show just where the rise in profits and the consequential rise in prices of shares would stop. They went on betting on its continuance a little too long. It is often assumed that the speculation was caused by a contemporaneous inflationary movement. That is a mistake. The inflation had already occurred *before* 1925. The further increase in the national income from 1925 to 1929 carried it only from $77,000,000,000 to $83,-000,000,000. The demand for goods in terms of money was no more than keeping pace with the country's productive resources in labor and capital. That was the result of Governor Strong's wise regulation of the credit.

If a similar outbreak of speculation did not occur in England it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was because the same conditions were not reproduced in that country. There was indeed on balance a similar rise in prices reflected in a big increase in the national income. But this country never fully emerged from the depression which followed the inflation of 1919–20. In 1925, when the recovery was scarcely half completed, the measures of deflation associated with the return to the gold standard intervened to make business unprofitable. Depression lasted unbroken till it became merged and intensified in the world depression from 1930 onwards. It may be true that the English public missed the madness which infected the American Stock market from 1925 to 1929 but it was because they missed the sanity which gave prosperity to American industry in those years.

The Need of Sophistication in Ethics

ALBERT R. CHANDLER

Professor of Philosophy, Ohio State University

THE moralist finds that men have differing scales of values, differing conceptions of virtue, vice, good, and evil by which they guide their lives and judge their neighbors. The moralist should strive to bring order out of this chaos. Where possible he may establish some more inclusive and better grounded scale of values which can be shown to be superior to the present value scales and therefore substituted for them. Or where this is impossible he may try to show men how they may agree to differ and may live harmoniously in spite of their different moral sentiments.

All too often, however, the moralist feels that the moral tradition in which he grew up has absolute validity. He fails to give sympathetic consideration to other moral points of view and defends his own by definitions and arguments which beg the question, since they derive their major premises from his own prejudices. In that case he is unsophisticated. To be unsophisticated is to be the dupe of local, transi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tory, and personal influences in our thinking and sentiment. To be sophisticated is to be free from these influences and therefore able to see things as they are and to appreciate the possible values of all alternative forms of human life. Absolute sophistication is unattainable but it marks the direction in which moralists must progress if their moralizing is really to promote a more harmonious human life.

In the present century at least two social phenomena have stimulated the growth of sophistication. One of these was propaganda accompanying the World War; the other is the present economic depression.

War propaganda showed clearly how the opinions and sentiments of whole nations may be molded by purposeful individuals who control the machinery of publicity. The subsequent disillusion showed us how little we can trust our thoughts and sentiments. How can we be sure that our new thoughts and feelings are any more valid than our former feelings about the "Huns" or our former thoughts about making the world safe for democracy? Evidently our opinions are not mirrors of eternal truths and eternal values but reflect to a large extent the interests of the lords of war and of finance who control advertising, news, editorials, radio, and the pulpit.

The present economic depression promotes sophistication by discrediting virtues which formerly seemed axiomatic foundations of any sound economic order. It once seemed that if individuals were industrious, efficient, inventive, and thrifty they would prosper as individuals and as a community. Yet now it seems that invention, efficiency, and industry have created technological unemployment and that the thrift of the masses has provided loans for disastrous speculation. In attempting to cure the depression we are resorting to shortened hours of labor, destruction of cotton and hogs, and a "buy-now" campaign which are negations of industriousness, efficiency, and thrift. Evidently these virtues are not unconditionally virtuous but are virtuous only in a certain phase of economic life which seems to be passing. We need an open mind to consider what new system of personal virtues and social organization we need.

For many centuries moralists have sought sophistication in various ways. One of these is the process of abstraction. The abstractionists, such as Plato and Kant, realize that nearly all of our specific

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judgments on particular cases are distorted by traditional and personal bias. This they seek to correct by rising to general principles. Such are the definitions of virtues in Plato's *Republic* or in Aristotle's *Ethics;* such is Kant's formula: *act so that the maxim of your act could by your will become universal law;* such is Royce's principle of loyalty to loyalty. From these abstract principles the moralist proposes to draw theories and corollaries and apply them to specific cases for the guidance of life. But, alas, this method of abstraction does not guarantee sophistication. The corollaries with which the moralist finally emerges for the guidance of life are suspiciously similar to the concrete traditions and prejudices with which he started. Abstraction enables us to free any concept or proposition we choose from the limits of time and space, but temporary and local prejudices may determine what we shall choose thus to generalize. In working downward from the general principle to the actual case we have to introduce a series of minor premises and these too may be determined by local or personal prejudice. Plato's abstractionism did not free him from the limitations of the city-state; he minimized the importance of smaller social units, such as the family, or larger ones, such as federations and empires. The duties he set up were duties to the city-state—not to the family or to humanity. His abstractionism also failed to free him from the personal bias which found higher spiritual values in homosexual love than in marriage. Kant's moral philosophy records a strenuous pursuit of abstractions, but his moral outlook remained Protestant, Pietistic, and Prussian. In our own day G. E. Moore is as able an abstractionist in ethics as one could hope to find but when he comes down to concrete evaluations I venture to record my impression that he gives a self-portrait of a Tory don. Abstractionism is not enough.

Aristotle followed another path toward sophistication—that of comparative historical studies. His collection of several hundred constitutions that had actually been set up in various Greek cities gave him a new type of sophistication. It saved him from the absolutism of the Platonic theory of a single perfect constitution; he recognized that different constitutions suit different circumstances. Yet Aristotle betrayed the limitations of his time and place. He still endorsed slavery and he still saw society in terms of the city-state, in the very decade in which the conquests of his pupil Alexander were dealing a deathblow to that mode of life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hegel pursued comparative social studies on a far wider scale than Aristotle. At first glance it seems that nothing could be more sophisticated than Hegel's dialectic. For Hegel every phase of moral, political, esthetic, intellectual, and religious life that has ever been lived has a certain rightness in its actual context, yet contains within itself a trend toward some deeper and more inclusive form of life. But who today can be a Hegelian without radically transmuting the Hegelianism of Hegel? His dialectic involved assigning a gradation of values to the different phases of life and this gradation reflects his basic prejudices as a German of his day. We cannot imagine a Frenchman or a Hindu assigning similar ratings.

Since Hegel a number of men and movements have deepened the meaning of sophistication. Let me mention evolutionism, Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud. The idea of evolution dominates the hundreds of volumes of empirical studies in history, anthropology, and other social sciences of the past hundred years. We are led to admit that lower forms of culture were relatively right for their day and age; but we are tempted to interpret the data in the light of a dogma of progress—taking as a starting point some all too hypothetical primitive man, and as goal a slight improvement on this or that Occidental nation, the choice of the nation depending on the nationality of the chooser. Thus we reassure ourselves that we are on the road to perfection and nearer to it than any other group is or has been. Sophistication has eluded us.

Marx gives a different slant to evolutionism by giving a dominant place to economic factors. He and his followers teach us to think of men's theories as 'ideologies,' meaning systems of thought which derive their plausibility from the fact that they defend the economic positions and claims of those who think them. Take for instance the belief that it is a moral duty for every man to support his family in competition with other men and that those who fail in the attempt should depend for relief on the noble charity of their successful rivals. President Hoover called this the American plan. The Marxian theory points out that this view is a defence of the position and aspirations of the middle class—a morality of shopkeepers, skilled artisans, and small farmers. The Marxian theory helps us to understand the attacks upon such a morality made in the name of an agrarian and military aristocracy or in the name of a collectivist proletariat. Yet the Marx-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ian theory is probably too narrow. It may be turned upon itself by pointing out that its neglect of non-economic factors is a prejudice due to its own social origin.

Nietzsche's attack upon Christianity and humanitarianism as expressions of a slave mentality challenge us to view religious and moral traditions with a new degree of sophistication. But who more than Nietzsche needs to be read in the light of a knowledge of his own warped personality and thwarted life?

Freud gives a new dimension to sophistication by maintaining that opinions and sentiments are not so much determined by conscious motives as by suppressed desires. His work indicates the futility of merely *resolving* to be rational; a realistic and rational outlook, like bodily health, depends upon normal interplay with the environment throughout life. Yet in reading him we may well ask whether his own outlook is wholly normal—whether for instance his extreme emphasis on sex may not be due to his peculiar position as confessor to the leisure class of a continental capital.

Now that we have indicated the need of sophistication and some of the means for promoting it let us consider in what degree various positions in the social order are favorable to sophistication. Who is in a position to become sophisticated? Not business men, lawyers, and physicians. Their interests are too completely bound up in the present economic order and in the social order of bourgeois respectability. Not ministers of the gospel. If they are conservative they have a complete system of moral dogma to defend; even if they are extremely liberal they are committed to the superiority of the Christian tradition over other traditions; and their social position condemns them to rigid respectability. Is an ex-clergyman in a position favorable to sophistication? It might seem so in view of Renan's remark to the effect that to understand a religion *il faut y avoir cru*—one must have believed in it once but have ceased to believe in it. However, the training and early experience of the ex-clergyman have usually been mainly of the apologetic, rhetorical, and propagandist type; scientific method has received lip-worship but has not become the ingrained mental habit. Moreover, one who has relinquished a dogma or an institution is likely to retain a nostalgic yearning for it and to view its alternatives as lamentable second-bests; or he may

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rush to the other extreme, exaggerating the defects and ill results of the tradition he has abandoned. It is like the case of parted lovers who feel either a lingering fondness or a bitter hatred for each other but can rarely settle down to a just estimate and a rational friendship.

Are college professors in a position to achieve sophistication? The nominal goal of their activity—the discovery and dissemination of truth—favors it. But many factors hamper it. One of these is the control of religious denominations in many colleges. Even where there is no denominational control I have heard a college president set up cooperation in a broad religious program for the community as a requirement for appointment to a position in philosophy. Another hindrance to sophistication lies in the social conservatism of the elderly business and professional men who sit on boards of trustees. Another is the professor's sense of responsibility to parents who wish their sons and daughters to be "safe" and to be prepared to fit gladly into a lucrative and respectable position in the present economic and social system. The students themselves are mostly conformists, eager to climb in the present system; only a minority are liberal or radical in their outlook. Another stumbling block is the professor's social status, which requires a more rigid respectability than that of the business man or lawyer, though not quite so rigid as that of a clergyman. Moreover, professors are largely recruited from persons who prefer peace and security to conflict and risk. It is not surprising then if professors are for the most part more sophisticated in the technique of defending their conclusions than in the content of the conclusions they defend.

Musicians, artists, and actors, who lead a Bohemian type of life, are more fully emancipated from Mrs. Grundy than any group we have mentioned. But their habit of living by their emotions and of living from day to day prevents them from cultivating any profound, detached, wide-ranging vision of human policy. Free-lance writers are perhaps in the most favorable position of all to become sophisticated. The cause of sophistication has been notably advanced by such men as Montaigne, Bayle, Voltaire, Nietzsche, Anatole France, Bernard Shaw, Mencken, Bertrand Russell, and Aldous Huxley. Such men are but loosely attached to tradition and the established order; their keen intelligence plays freely over the panorama of human affairs and their wit serves as a solvent to melt the barriers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of emotional opposition. On the other hand writers are tempted to go to extremes to gain a hearing; they too seldom cultivate a judicial temperament.

It appears then that no professional status is wholly favorable to sophistication. Yet in every social status there are alert and sensitive individuals who have to a notable extent overcome obstacles and attained an honorable degree of sophistication.

What we most need for the attainment of adequate sophistication is a science of moral perspective. In the realm of space the apparent shapes of objects from different points of view are related to one another by well-known laws of perspective. If we know the real shape of an object we can infer what its apparent shape will be from any assigned point of view; if we know the apparent shapes of the object from several appropriate points of view we can infer its real shape. A science of moral perspective would deal with the fact that any moral problem appears differently from the points of view of different social and psychological classes. Such a science would establish laws correlating such appearances and points of view. Evolutionism, Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud have made vital contributions toward such a science, but the onesidedness of these contributions needs to be corrected and supplemented. Efforts in this direction have been made by Scheler, Max Weber, and Karl Mannheim.

In spatial perspective the possible points of view are arranged in orderly series according to distance, point of compass, and angle to the horizon. In morals we find scattered points of view, such as proletarian, bourgeois, and aristocratic, or Catholic and Puritan, or respectable and Bohemian. Can systematic relations among such points of view be established? Only if the governing conditions can be analyzed into factors having assignable degrees. Shall we find that morality is correlated with latitude, longitude, altitude, temperature, humidity? Are there equatorial virtues and polar vices? These factors can never tell the whole story because of such factors as Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud have stressed. Morality is bound to vary with wealth and poverty, security and insecurity, sexual satisfaction and frustration. It is bound also to vary with exposure to traditions such as Christianity, commercialism, and Bohemianism, and with the individual's degree of sensitivity or responsiveness to them. Moral

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perspective will be a more complex and elusive affair than spatial perspective. Although moral perspective can never be an exact science may it not be developed far enough to become a useful tool in correcting our own biases?

Suppose that my gentle reader and I are both native white Americans whose ancestors (Protestant) have been long in this country; that we are middle class professional men; that we are more than forty years old, so that our habits of thought, feeling, and behavior were formed before the World War. Must we not begin our ethical reflections with a purgative doubt of the Cartesian type? Evidently only a tiny fraction of mankind shares the set of biases involved in our tradition and experience. Would it not be a piece of incredible good luck if our views and sentiments happened to be right on any point on which men sincerely differ? Must we not begin by giving hospitable consideration to the value scales of young people, of proletarians and aristocrats, of Catholics and Jews, of Negroes and Europeans and Orientals? We must try to see ourselves as others see us and regard our own present views and sentiments as correlates of social status and personal bias. By making progress in the science of moral perspective we shall lay the foundation for more objective systems of ethics and thereby help individuals, classes, and nations toward mutual comprehension and fruitful cooperation.

Until we make substantial progress in the science of moral perspective I urge that any statement of any moralist (including this statement of mine) should be accompanied by the following certificate: The foregoing statements are not guaranteed, but they are based on what I hope is a realistic view of human nature and on the widest practicable survey of alternative possibilities; and my conclusions are sufficiently at variance with my tastes and sentiments, sufficiently derogatory to the traditions in which I was brought up, and sufficiently detrimental to the interests of the economic and professional class to which I belong for me to believe there is a good chance of their being true.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Balkan Minorities Problem — One Way Out

HENRY C. WOLFE

THE spirit of Serajevo is not dead. Indeed it refuses to be laid. It stalks uneasily through the gloomy ways of the Balkans and Central Europe, as restless as in the summer of 1914, lighting the petty blazes of international strife and fanning to flame the sparks of intra-national friction. And one of these local conflagrations could provide the spark that would fire the Balkan powder magazine with the explosion that would be the opening shot of another world war.

How do the press dispatches from Central and Southeastern Europe read these days? "King Boris Considers Martial Law." "Poles Seize German Spy." "Roumanian Police Arrest Soviet Agents." "Czechs Discover Hungarian Plot." "Yugoslavs Shoot Albanians in Frontier Clash." Such headlines are so commonplace that an indifferent Occident ignores the political and international volcano of which they are the distant and apparently innocuous vaporings. Wiser would be the West if it had as much concern for these headlines as for the stabilization of the dollar, if it at least regarded them as straws which register the currents and cross currents blowing up out of Europe's most treacherous storm center. Those shots at Serajevo nineteen years ago seemed distant, too.

The problem of the ethnic minorities is possibly the most inflammable of the many factors interwoven in the complex discord of Central Europe. Just as the Pan-Slav movement of two decades ago was a warning of catastrophe, today the ethnic minorities of Southeastern Europe present the same storm signals. Yet the average American considers the Albanians, Macedonians, Turks, Serbs, Roumanians, Hungarians, Czechs, and Bulgars as politically negligible as the recluse pigmy tribes of the Ituri Forest in Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If we glance at the ethnic map of that unquiet terrain of Europe which stretches from the Baltic to the Golden Horn we find it a confused and heterogeneous jigsaw puzzle of color, denoting races and nationalities. Not all Hungarians live in Hungary, for instance. About a million and a half of them live in Roumania where the Szecklers are separated from their fatherland by a heavy insulation of hated Roumanians. Other Hungarian minorities live in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In Poland sulks more than one German minority, loyal to the Reich, physically and psychologically a most irritating thorn in the side of Poland. Similarly domiciled in foreign lands are dissatisfied minorities of Macedonians, Bulgars, Poles, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Austrians, Albanians, Italians, and Russians. It is this Central European hodgepodge of races and peoples, this expatriation of national groups, which fatally weakened the late Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was the pieces of this jigsaw puzzle that shuffled dizzily before the bewildered eyes of the peace conference at Paris, bedevilling its unhappy leaders and turning its sessions into free-for-all fights between the conflicting delegations. As a war-winning slogan the "self-determination of peoples" was a brilliant idea, but in their attempts to carry out this principle President Wilson and his associates ran into difficulties which had their inception as far back as the migrations during the days of the Roman Empire.

On the surface the entire minorities problem appears insoluble. How, we are asked, can we include in Hungary the half million Szecklers (Hungarians) living in Roumania—and separated from their brethren in Hungary by a solid block of Roumanian population —unless we return the province of Transylvania to Hungary, thereby creating a greater minority problem than we are attempting to eradicate? And how can we include a German minority in Poland within the frontiers of Germany unless by the same process we turn a Polish majority over to the Germans? The same situation applies to the other minorities. And yet unless some solution can be found that will solve this problem, in part at least, all the pacific resolutions of Geneva, all the non-aggression treaties, and all the pacts designed to outlaw war cannot prevent the type of conflict born of ethnic minorities situations. Need we be reminded that the war of 1914–18 had its inception in a minority feud?

A way out of this minority impasse has been furnished, I believe,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the example of Turkey and Greece. Prior to the Smyrna disaster of September 1922 there existed in those countries a centuries-old minorities problem that was all the more acute in that it involved a difference of both nationality and religion. The Christian Greeks in Anatolia lived in a state of perpetual fear of the Mohammedan majority. Persecution and massacres, the latter of which fortunately is uncommon in Europe, kept the nationality and religious questions a perennial source of trouble between the two countries. Apparently no statesman saw any way out of the impasse although it was all too evident that the situation was perpetually fraught with bloodshed and suffering. Following the World War a Greek army was sent into Asia Minor to occupy the hinterland of Smyrna. When Mustapha Kemal Pasha drove the Greek army out of Smyrna the Turks instituted a sanguinary persecution of the Greek population which drove well over a million of these unfortunates into exile. With nowhere else to go the expatriates flocked to Greece although many of them spoke only Turkish and were Greek merely in religion and ancestry. This huge influx of refugees, most of them women, children, and old men, put a terrific social and financial burden upon the Greek nation. But it was even more difficult for the unfortunates who, having lost everything they owned, arrived in Greece with little but the rags on their backs. Nevertheless, as the months passed the refugees dug themselves in, built houses out of rocks and tin gasoline cans, planted gardens on waste land, and established small home industries and shops. It was a courageous effort and, eventually, a successful one.

A few months after the hegira from Smyrna the Turkish and Greek governments came to a common-sense agreement to evacuate the remaining individuals who constituted minorities in the respective countries. With assistance from the League of Nations and the Near East Relief, this transplantation was put into operation; Turks in Macedonia and Crete were exchanged for Greeks in Anatolia and Constantinople. In a short time there was no Greek minority in Turkey and no Turkish minority in Greece. It would be preposterous to deny that this modern migration of peoples did not produce an infinite amount of suffering and losses to the individual members of the minorities. But the exchange was carried out in a spirit of cooperation which made a difficult task not only possible but successful. And the once dangerous minorities problems in Greece and Turkey were de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

finitively solved. If Greece and Turkey ever go to war it will not be because of Greeks in Turkey or Turks in Greece. That ancient *casus belli* is extinct. It is quite unlikely, however, that Greece and Turkey will go to war. Their spirit of cooperation created in solving their minorities problems had a glorious sequence. In 1932 Greece, traditional enemy of Turkey, proposed Turkey's admittance to membership in the League of Nations. "A few years ago," said Andrew Michalakopoulos, Greek Foreign Minister, "if some one had said Greece and Turkey one day would clasp hands and go forward closely united toward a common ideal he might have been received with skeptical smiles. May we soon have the privilege of seeing other such Utopias realized." For the first time in history these old enemies are living side by side in a spirit not merely of tolerance but of actual friendship.

Now a needless transplantation of peoples would be an utterly iniquitous cruelty. There are minorities upon whom such repatriation would fall as a punishment at once unnecessary and ruinous. But there are situations where such a measure would not only prevent bloodshed but would ultimately benefit the repatriates. Realizing the responsibility of making such a proposal I suggest it as a last resort and only where it tends to remove a minority problem fraught with danger of war. In so universal a cause the transplantation of minorities, drastic remedy though it be, justifies itself from every humane and international point of view.

Since Roumania is usually singled out as the outstanding example of the minorities problem let us examine the status quo in that country. Roumania's principal minorities are Hungarians, Saxons, Turks, Bulgars, and Russians. It is, however, the Hungarian minority which never ceases to stir up agitation for revision of the Treaty of Trianon. And it is this minority which makes Budapest one of the principal war threats in Europe today. The Hungarians, strangely enough, are willing to admit that Transylvania contains only a Magyar minority. To reclaim these Hungarians, however, Budapest demands the return of the entire province of Transylvania, despite its Roumanian majority. Naturally the Roumanians summarily reject this demand. And yet as long as the Hungarian minority remains within the Roumanian kingdom it provides a source of agitation and the seeds of war. How, then, are we going to eliminate this danger? The inevita-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ble answer it seems to me is to follow the Greco-Turk example by transplanting the Hungarian minority to their homeland.

The Turkish and Saxon minorities in Roumania, on the other hand, neither need nor seek transplantation into their homelands. Both these peoples are satisfied with Roumanian citizenship and would prefer to remain citizens of Roumania than be torn from their native homes and placed in what would actually be for them a foreign environment. As for the Russian minority in Bessarabia it is a small one. The official Russian census of 1897 gave the true Russian population of the province as only 8.1 per cent. And in the case of these Russians in Bessarabia it is exceedingly doubtful whether even a small fraction of their number would prefer Soviet citizenship. Thus the Roumanian minority problem is concerned almost entirely with the extremely chauvinistic Hungarian population of Transylvania.

No thoughtful man who has witnessed a large-scale transplantation of refugees would deny that the moving of even a few thousand people would present complex social and economic problems—to say nothing of the movement of a half million. But it could be done. And if it were arranged in a spirit of sympathy and cooperation and were carried out under intelligent supervision it could be effected with a minimum of hardship and loss for the refugees. Some form of compensation should be provided for those uprooted from their homes and adequate provisions should be made in advance—something which could not be done in the case of the enormous influx of refugees which poured into Greece with the defeated Greek army.

In certain situations repatriation may be not only a desirable but a comparatively facile process. There is the example of the Serb villages of Gorica and Gombosch, located until last May in Albania. Weary of persecution by the Albanian majority, the Serb population of these two villages moved *en masse* across the frontier into Yugoslavia. The Albanian Government objected to the migration but in spite of this opposition the Serbs left Albania. Settled now in two villages near Ueskueb, in Yugoslavia, these Serbs have solved their minority problem.

Let us consider the cross-section of the German minorities in Poland and the Polish minority in Germany. Some of the provinces of the so-called Corridor have German minorities, numerically but a small portion of the population. Upper Silesia, on the contrary,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though a German province, has some overwhelmingly Polish sections contiguous to the Polish frontier. This industrial region of Germany has been a bone of bitter contention for the past fifteen years. If both the Polish and German minorities were transplanted into their homelands some rectification of the Polish-German frontier in favor of Poland, and looking toward the incorporation of the Polish majority in Upper Silesia, would be necessary. Such an arrangement would be advantageous to both nations. It would not, of course, guarantee peace because there are other potential causes of strife between Poland and Germany. Yet if the minorities problem were solved one of the most acute elements of international strain would thereby be eliminated and a war between Germany and Poland removed by an important unit of measure.

Not in every instance, of course, would transplantation be practicable. In other cases, such as that of the Saxons and Turks in Roumania, it would be superfluous. It should be used only as a last resort to meet a situation in which time will not reconcile the minority. The Hungarians are probably the outstanding example of a people so nationality-conscious that they make irreconcilable citizens of another state. Irreconcilable, too, are the Macedonians in southern Yugoslavia, the Italian fringe in northwestern Yugoslavia, the Yugoslavs in northeastern Italy, and the German and Lithuanian minorities in Poland, all of them minorities which will never be satisfied under the rule of the majority governments. If the Macedonian minority were transplanted into Bulgaria and the Italian minority transplanted into Italy much friction in Yugoslavia's relations with her neighbors would be eliminated. Let us remind ourselves again that it was the South Slav minority in Austria-Hungary which precipitated the crisis at Serajevo immediately responsible for the outbreak of the World War. In the past, irreconcilable minorities have brought on conflicts of major proportions and there appears to be no reason to doubt that history will repeat itself unless this cause of friction is removed. The transplantation of minorities is suggested as a means by which to reduce the danger of armed conflict over the questions inherent in minorities situations.

The alternative to transplantation of minorities is to follow the haphazard course we are now pursuing, a path leading directly to war with its consequent loss of life, destruction of property, and social

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and economic chaos. It is true that transplantation of even a half million people would be an expensive proceeding. It would not, however, compare in expense with a war, even if the war could be localized and were of short duration, two rather unlikely hypotheses in view of the interdependence of nations and the systems of international alliances which exist today.

It is true that the repatriation of minorities would favor the status quo nations at the expense of those seeking treaty and territorial revision. Naturally it does. There is no reason to believe, however, that the revisionist countries would be satisfied with any arrangement that did not turn over to them territory which contains alien majorities. And nothing could be less profitable than another war to change frontiers, for such a war would merely lay the foundations for future wars.

At the peace conference which followed the War an effort was made to reshape old nations and new ones along ethnic lines, an attempt to fulfil the Allied pledge to permit the various peoples of Europe to enjoy "self-determination." But the results of this effort were disappointing although they probably represented the maximum of human achievement under the circumstances. And the peace treaties did rectify many outstanding ethnic injustices. Transplantation could be carried out within the structure of the peace treaties to further the work of "self-determination."

If we wait till the next war comes (precipitated by a minorities dispute), the transplantation of minorities may be enforced in the midst of armed conflict, under conditions more harrowing for the refugees than any peace-time conditions. But why wait helplessly for a war to eliminate a major cause of war? My plan is not offered as a panacea. But its aim is the removal of an important cause of war by laying the ghost of Serajevo. The League of Nations could provide the personnel and machinery for the transplantation. A board of neutrals—made up, for example, of an American, a Dutchman, and an Argentinian—could direct the technical operations of the transplantation in order that justice could be rendered impartially to both minority and majority parties. And what a triumph of humane and far-sighted statesmanship this would be!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gland Magic

EDWARD PODOLSKY, M.D.

THERE is perhaps no subject in modern medicine as popular as that of glands. Within the past dozen years glowing reports have appeared in both the scientific and popular press about miracles wrought by gland treatment, of senile men made young, dulled brains made intelligent, and flabby flesh and muscles revitalized. But much of this was overdrawn, for although glands and the medicines derived from them play a very important part in health, no miracles can be wrought through them.

There are seven ductless or endocrine glands. The first to be known as such was the thyroid, situated in the front of the neck, of which goitre is perhaps the most widely known derangement. Cretinism is next common and the treatment of this condition with tablets made from the substance of the thyroid gland is one of the greatest triumphs of modern medicine. Below the thyroid, situated in the upper central portion of the chest just behind the breastbone, is the thymus, of great importance during infancy. As the person grows older, however, the thymus decreases in size and importance until in adult life it is of little significance. The pituitary body, situated at the base of the brain, is extremely important for the normal growth of the skeleton as well as for sexual development. When it is overactive the pituitary is the giant maker; when underactive it is responsible for midgets of the Tom Thumb variety. It is also involved in fat formation, a decrease in functioning giving rise to pronounced obesity. Indispensable, too, are the ductless glands known as the adrenals, two small structures riding astride the upper pole of each kidney. If these glands, source of adrenalin, are destroyed by disease, life is impossible. When diseased they also give rise to precocious sexual development. The pancreas is a gland of both external and internal secretions, the gland which pours forth insulin, necessary for the breaking down of sugar

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the blood and the building up of energy. It is very intimately concerned, too, with digestion. Finally the sex glands, both male and female, are extremely important endocrine glands, essential for the proper development of the boy into a man and the girl into a woman, and affecting very profoundly every process in the human body.

Many books have appeared lately giving vivid descriptions of the workings of the various glands and their effects upon health and disease. In the present article no attempt is made to review the entire subject of endocrinology—a task beyond the limits of one article. Instead I shall describe some of the latest and more interesting advances in this field.

In the year 1876 Sir James Paget, an English physician, became much interested in human bones. Hitherto doctors had paid little attention to those vital parts of the human body, clothed in many layers of soft flesh and fat, as a source of disease. Professor Roentgen's ray, which could penetrate through blood and flesh, had not yet been announced to a breathless world. But Sir James Paget, a clinician of acute powers of discernment, saw beyond the hiding influences of flesh and realized that there was no part of the body not susceptible to disease. One day into his consulting rooms came a man who complained of aching pains in the thighs and legs, especially after active exercises. Perhaps another doctor would have prescribed some analgesic medicine and dismissed him without further thought. But not so Sir James. Pains in the thighs and legs after exercises were not normal; there was something ailing the man's bones, something at the moment not discernible but that perhaps time would bring out. Dr. Paget kept this man under observation. Within a year things began to happen to his bones. His left thigh had become curved as if it had been melted in the slow flame of a steady heat. At the same time the right side of his head had become enlarged while his spine was slowly becoming curved and rigid. Some mysterious influences were at work on the victim's bones, pulling them out of all reasonable shape and size. As time went on the man was beginning to look like one of our pre-historic, sub-human ancestors, an ape man.

Sir James Paget described this case in great detail and published his description in a medical journal. Soon other doctors' eyes became keener. There were other cases of the strange disease which pulled

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the bones of the human body out of shape and caused the victim to resemble an overgrown monkey. As the bones became deformed they produced new pressures on vital and sensitive organs underneath them and this gave rise to such aches and pains that life became a thing of misery, not worth living. At first this was believed a very rare disease but as time brought new advances in medicine, first the X-ray and later on delicate methods of chemical analysis, it was found that Paget's disease was not as rare as one had previously been led to believe. As a matter of fact, doctors now believe it a rather common disease of the bones.

When the frequent occurrence of Paget's disease was established doctors began to look about for the cause, but for years there was discouraging groping in the dark. Then with the development of endocrinology it was learned that bone health was in a very large measure dependent upon properly functioning endocrine glands. In 1904 Dr. Askanazy made the first significant discovery that gave doctors an inkling as to the cause of the bone-deforming disease. He found that the parathyroids, the tiny endocrine glands in the neck, were the seat of the disease. A tumor of one of these small glands occurring in a case of Paget's disease made him suspicious. In 1925 another physician, Dr. Mandel, also found a tumor of the parathyroid in a case of Paget's disease. But Dr. Mandel not only found the tumor—he removed it and the patient began to improve; the disease was arrested before it could do any further damage. A subsequent guess that the tumor caused the parathyroids to pour great amounts of their secretion into the blood and that this excess secretion began to act upon the bones to melt and twist them into grotesque shapes and sizes was later confirmed by means of experiments on animals. By the prolonged administration of parathyroid extract Drs. Jaffe, Bodansky, and Blair succeeded in producing Paget's disease in all its characteristics.

Although progress was being made the disease remained one of the incurables. A patient with Paget's disease was still doomed to a lingering, bone-deforming interval ended by death. And though the parathyroids were implicated in some way not much could be done about it, for to remove them would invite a condition even more terrible than the disease itself. But Dr. Berman, who had for many years been interested in endocrine glands, knew that for every en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

docrine glandular influence there was somewhere in the body another and contrary endocrine influence. Where was the contrary influence for the parathyroids to be found? A study of the blood chemistry gave him the clue—the element, calcium, one of the most essential in the structure of the bones. Overactivity of the parathyroids causes the bones to give up a great amount of calcium and this loss accounts for their deformation. The calcium thus given up by the bones finds its way into the blood stream. The doctor found that in every case of Paget's disease there was a great increase of calcium in the blood, the calcium from the melting and twisting bones.

With his profound knowledge of the workings of the endocrine glands Dr. Berman recalled that some time before that he had seen several cases of tumors of the adrenals, the two little glands on top of the kidneys. Tumor of this adrenal caused an increased pouring out of adrenal substance into the blood and strange things began to happen. If it occurred in young women they began to grow a beard and talk like a man, the bones became heavier, sturdier, and stronger, while an examination of the blood showed that the calcium content was much decreased. Where had the vital calcium gone? The X-ray picture furnished the answer by showing heavier and stronger bones. In the adrenal gland had been found an influence antagonistic to the parathyroid. While the parathyroid took calcium from the bones and sent it into the blood, the adrenal took calcium from the blood and sent it into the bones. When stimulated beyond reason the parathyroids weakened bones; the adrenals, in excess, strengthened them. To Dr. Berman this appeared to be a good clue to work upon and he began to make extracts from adrenal glands obtained from the slaughter houses as soon as they were available. Later he found that glands which had been frozen for a few hours were just as good. He trimmed the fat from the glands and split them in half, carefully cutting out that portion known as the medulla. They were then put into a meat grinder and ground fine, after which they were put into double their volume of 95 per cent alcohol and allowed to stand for 24 hours. After many hours of constant refining the soul of the adrenal gland was obtained, the medicine which sent calcium into weak bones. This active principle was called the hormone.

With the isolation of the alleviating hormone of the adrenal gland Dr. Berman was ready and eager to evaluate its efficacy on the dis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ease which had been named for Sir James Paget. He had 18 cases coming to him for treatment, cases in varying stages of development, some apparently beyond any help whatever, but he began to feed them with the medicine he had obtained from the adrenals. In addition he also put them on a special diet containing increased amounts of the vital element calcium. For weeks and months and even years he kept these cases under observation. The first remarkable change was a release from the constant, devitalizing pains. For the first time the patient began to look at the world through brighter eyes and with higher hopes. There was also born anew a sense of well being, something most of them had not experienced for many months. The disease was stayed; the deforming process was arrested. As the months went by the victims began to recover their strength; many were able to return to work. Nervous irritability vanished as if by magic. Of the 18, only one or two, apparently advanced beyond any hope of relief, did not benefit. Dr. Berman's treatment of Paget's disease is one of the greatest victories in endocrinology.

In the year 1855 Dr. Thomas Addison described a fatal disease which has since then become known as Addison's disease, an affliction of the adrenals. In this disease the first thing to attract attention is the slow change in the victim's skin, which at first is yellow but which, as times goes on, gets darker in color and in some cases even turns black. In most cases, however, the skin remains brown, particularly in those regions exposed to the air. The brown pigment, the most visible sign of the disease, is scattered everywhere, even the insides of the mouth becoming brown in some cases. As the color of the skin begins to deepen the sufferer also begins to note other and more disconcerting changes. All energy has been sucked out of his body, every little thing exhausts. He cannot carry on the ordinary tasks of life. A strange picture! Here is a man apparently well nourished, with muscles which feel firm and hard, yet he constantly complains of feeling tired, of not being able to lift a one-pound weight, of wanting to do nothing but rest and sleep. For years there was but one outcome —death. The partial conquest of this terrible disease is something every modern doctor regards with pride; it is one of the great triumphs of endocrinology.

When it was realized that the adrenals were involved in Addison's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disease, physicians began to look upon these little organs as a possible source of a remedy. In 1894 Drs. Oliver and Schafer took adrenal glands and prepared various extracts from them by rubbing the glands with salt solution. When these extracts were injected into animals there was a slight rise in blood pressure but nothing more. Then it was found that the adrenals consisted of two parts, the medulla and the cortex. The substance chiefly used by Drs. Oliver and Schafer was adrenalin which came from the medullary portion of the gland. When not only adrenalin but other principles isolated from this portion of the adrenal gland did not seem to do much good the search shifted to the cortex.

In 1920 Dr. A. L. Muirhead, a professor of pharmacology in one of the leading medical schools, found himself stricken with Addison's disease. Realizing that his affliction would end in death in a short time and being not only a physician but also an expert in the science of drugs, he determined to devote the remainder of his life to an attempt to find a cure. Instead of sitting back waiting for death in the Mayo Clinic, which he entered, he did all in his power to stave death off, chopped and dried adrenal gland substance which he put into capsules and took by mouth, and by rectum took preparations of the adrenal gland containing large quantities of adrenalin. In a short time he made a remarkable recovery, and for a while was apparently cured—the first instance in history of any such improvement in a sufferer from Addison's disease. The rejoicing, however, was premature, for Dr. Muirhead had not really been cured and had a relapse into his former condition. Although treatment was again instituted and although it did help a little, it did not prevent his death from this disease.[1] But for several years the Muirhead treatment was the best that medicine could offer.

In 1927 Dr. Hartman and his co-workers, Drs. Steward and Rogoff, went a step further and produced extracts from the cortical portion of the adrenals. They removed the adrenals from dogs, inducing in those animals a condition closely resembling Addison's disease; they then fed these adrenalectomized dogs the cortical extracts which they had prepared and found they were able to keep these

[1] The phenomenon of apparent cure of a disease which later will not respond to the same treatment is common in medicine. The patient acquires what is known as resistance to treatment and for that reason no benefit can be expected. For most diseases we have a different remedy which will accomplish the work; in others there is but one. In syphilis, for instance, a patient may be resistant to arsenic but will respond very nicely to bismuth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dogs alive for a period of fifteen days as compared with ten days for dogs which had not been given their extract. Apparently they were on the right track. In March, 1930 two other scientists, Drs. Swingle and Pfiffner, continuing these experiments a step further, prepared a concentrated water extract of adrenal cortex and then removed the adrenals from cats. When they began feeding the cats their adrenal preparations they found to their surprise that they were able to keep the cats alive, not for a few days or a few weeks but indefinitely! As long as these cats were fed this substance they lived but as soon as it was withdrawn they died. This was a discovery comparable to that of many years before that the feeding of thyroid extract to a cretin kept him, so long as he took the thyroid pills, from plunging into drooling idiocy. Because of the fact that this extract came from the cortical portion of the adrenal gland it was named cortin. Clinical experiments followed laboratory experiments and in due time cortin made its début as one of the most remarkable discoveries in modern medicine.

Cortin has now been established as a definite medicinal agent in the service of mankind. Physicians with patients suffering from Addison's disease place their patients on cortin just as those who suffer from diabetes are placed on insulin. As in the case of diabetes, cortin is injected by means of a hypodermic needle under the skin. This is done on an average of twice a day, in a dosage of one cubic centimeter or more, depending on the severity of the case. In cases of emergency intravenous injections have also been used with success. The cortin, which is kept on ice and warmed before being used, is painless when injected and keeps its potency for a period of at least two or three weeks without preservatives. When cortin is given to a patient suffering from Addison's disease it does almost what insulin does for a diabetic. In time it raises the abnormally low blood pressure, at the same time reducing the very rapid pulse, and lessens the browning of the skin considerably. The patient's strength is increased; the muscular tonicity is increased; the heart action becomes stronger; the patient takes a new lease on life. In connection with the action of cortin a very significant thing was demonstrated in 1931. A patient in a comatose state, suffering from Addison's disease, was given large amounts of cortical extract in spite of the fact that he was apparently too far gone for any benefit to be expected. Within 24 hours, how-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever, he was conscious and eating. Unfortunately the remarkable recovery he made was followed by pneumonia from which he later died. But at his autopsy a most unusual thing was discovered. The cortical portion of the adrenals in which the disease arises, although much damaged, was beginning to show areas of regeneration, of a new building up of the gland. Cortin was demonstrating itself to be of value in bringing back to life a most essential gland in the body economy.

As more cases are being treated with cortin more evidence is being accumulated that this glandular medicine is the best drug at our disposal for the treatment of Addison's disease. In importance in treating a disease which hitherto had invariably been fatal in its outcome cortin takes a position with liver.

When doctors began to study the ductless glands in a thoroughly systematic manner they were struck by the many cases in which there was an intimate relationship between sick glands and sick minds. Dr. Cushing found that many cases of insanity had sick pituitary glands. Dr. McLester found this also to be true in cases of diseased thyroids. Other physicians found that other endocrine glands were also involved in cases of insanity. In 1923 Drs. Lewis and Davis at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, the great government hospital for the insane at Washington, D. C., began to use gland preparations in an attempt to improve cases of insanity in which there was also an underlying basis of sick glands and the successful outcome of this treatment induced other doctors also to try the gland treatment in insanity. In 1926 Dr. Klauders made an exhaustive study of the efficacy of such treatment and obtained some very interesting results. He found that rather large doses of the gland medicine were necessary and that treatment should continue for at least a period of six months. One patient who for two years had been in a more or less stuporous condition recovered completely after three months of the gland treatment. Other less severe cases began to show improvement after three weeks.

After 1926 the gland treatment of insanity began to become popular throughout the world. Dr. Bentley struck a happy combination when he found that a mixture of thyroid, gonad, and pituitary proved very effective in most chronic cases. In other instances better results

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were obtained by the use of large doses of but a single gland. Dr. Mayer reported the case of a madman whose insanity took the form of perpetual silence and physical inertia. This patient was put on a thyroid substance which not only brought him out of his stupor but so aroused him that he became maniacal. After a transitory outburst of mania, however, he subsided and was freed entirely from the grip of insanity. A similar case was reported by another physician, Dr. Davidson. In quite a few cases of insanity thyroid substance proved to be a very important gland medicine. In 1931 Drs. Hayward and Woods advanced the theory that the brain cells require thyroid substance in order to function properly, a theory that accounts for the wonderful results psychiatrists have obtained with the use of this gland alone. In the same year Drs. Hoskins and Sleeper at the Worcester State Hospital, undertaking a very thorough study of thyroid in the treatment of insanity, selected all those patients suffering from insanity who also suffered from thyroid insufficiency. These patients, treated exclusively with thyroid substance, without exception showed definite improvement.

Meanwhile alienists were learning that not only thyroid but other endocrine glands were responsible for other forms of insanity. There is a type of mental aberration known as involution melancholia, occurring mostly in women at the change of life period, a type of insanity particularly interesting to Drs. Keyes and Strecker who in 1932 treated a series of such patients with ovarian substance which they injected into the muscular tissues. This form of treatment, continued from periods varying from one half to two years, resulted in considerable improvement in all the patients. In 1932 a more intensive study of this form of treatment was carried out at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital by Drs. Bowman and Bender who used a very refined preparation, in liquid form, which they also injected into the muscles. In the majority of the cases good results were obtained, the more advanced cases of long standing being greatly influenced.

Although doctors have been trying for many years to arrive at an accurate means of forecasting pregnancy it is only within very recent times that they have succeeded. For years it was known that the ovaries had a great deal to do with pregnancy, that these two small organs sent forth into the blood and other body fluids a definite chem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical substance known as folliculin whose presence was found to be necessary for fertility, that this folliculin started the whole process going. In fact scientists found that when isolated and purified in crystalline form and given to castrated female rabbits it restored all the functions lost through removal of essential organs. Folliculin was found, furthermore, to be not only a chemical; it was also a symbol meaning pregnancy, for it was during pregnancy that this element was much increased, so much increased that it was found in the blood and urine of pregnant women. This discovery, one of the greatest in modern medicine, was made by Drs. Aschheim and Zondek in Germany and Drs. Allen and Doisy in this country.

In 1921 two other doctors made an important discovery—that folliculin alone was not effective in initiating fertility, but that it required the cooperation of another glandular element coming from the pituitary, the gland at the base of the brain. This gland, as stated before, secretes two very important substances, one required for normal growth and the other necessary for the proper development of the sex organs. Dr. Zondek, who had been interested in the problem of forecasting pregnancy scientifically, began to study the element in the pituitary secretions having to do with sexual development, and together with his associate, Dr. Aschheim, showed that folliculin required the cooperation of the newly discovered pituitary secretion for the normal development of pregnancy. The two doctors, after a further study of the pituitary secretions, found that that part having to do with sex development consisted of two very definite elements. These were named respectively Prolan A and Prolan B. Before long, however, two physicians of an analytical turn of mind, Drs. Trivino and Flhumann, demonstrated that during pregnancy the blood and urine contained definite amounts of the pituitary substance, particularly Prolan B.

Science had now some very definite information about the mechanism of pregnancy; it knew that two very important sets of ductless glands, the ovaries which secreted folliculin and the pituitary which secreted prolan, poured definitely constituted chemicals into the blood. When both of these were found together in the blood and urine of a woman the doctor could definitely say that she was pregnant. Drs. Allen and Doisy who were particularly interested in folliculin elaborated a scale for measuring that substance in what they called

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mouse units. Drs. Aschheim and Zondek did the same for prolan. Since the two men who did more than anyone else to establish the art of forecasting pregnancy on a scientific basis were Drs. Aschheim and Zondek the process, known and used throughout the civilized world, is called the Aschheim-Zondek test. These two doctors were also the first to undertake a very thorough study of the whole method of forecasting pregnancy. In the course of many delicate chemical tests they found out many interesting things; for instance that between the first and eighth weeks of pregnancy one litre of urine contains between 300 and 600 mouse units of folliculin and between 5000 and 6000 mouse units of prolan, while during the last three months of pregnancy one litre of urine contains 2000 to 3000 units of prolan as to 6000 to 10,000 units of folliculin—a most important discovery, enabling a doctor to tell whether a pregnancy is early or advanced. But the mere finding of folliculin and prolan in the urine of a woman does not tell the whole story as far as forecasting pregnancy is concerned. A supplementary test, simple but nevertheless conclusive, is required. Five cubic centimeters of urine from the woman suspected of pregnancy is injected into the vein of the ear of a female rabbit. After being kept alive 48 hours in order that the urine may act upon the generative organs the rabbit is killed and the ovaries removed. If certain changes have occurred in these organs the nature of the changes indicates that they were brought about by folliculin and prolan in the urine and that the woman is pregnant.

When something new is discovered other doctors before long attempt to improve upon it, making it more accurate. The Aschheim-Zondek test was soon thus studied, first by Dr. Friedman who simplified it and still later by Dr. Brouha who simplified it still more and made it more accurate. In 1931 two other physicians, Drs. Eberson and Silverberg of the University of California Medical School, brought the original Aschheim-Zondek test up to its highest degree of efficiency and not only made it possible to foretell pregnancy very early in its course but also to diagnose cases of abnormal location of the newly forming child as well as cases of incomplete or complete abortion. They were able, moreover, to distinguish true pregnancy from other conditions which simulate pregnancy and very often confuse the doctor who does not use this test. The Eberson-Silverberg modification of the Aschheim-Zondek test made it of value also in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enabling the physician to tell whether the baby was dead or alive in the uterus, a very important thing to know at times. Finally by means of this test a doctor can know with certainty whether pregnancy exists in cases of a medicolegal nature—cases in which a prompt diagnosis of pregnancy is desired.

Epilepsy is as many-sided a disease as one could imagine and because there are many causes doctors have not as yet been able to find one remedy to care for every case of the "Falling Sickness." In some cases the disease is due to explosively impatient nervous energy which may effectively be calmed with sedative drugs like bromides and luminal. In other cases it is due to wet brains, and the water squeezing technique of Dr. Fay yields good results. In still other cases it is due to a lack of keton bodies floating in the blood stream, and Dr. Wilder's diet must be used to furnish these becalming bodies. Then again epilepsy may be due to diseased skull vertexes and sticky brain membranes which can be taken care of only by means of Dr. Ney's operation.

And now with a more thorough understanding of sick glands it has been found that certain types of epilepsy are due to disordered endocrines. Nearly two hundred years ago an observant French doctor, Raymond Vieussens, noted that some cases of epileptics also had diseased pituitaries. Of course it was but in a certain percentage of cases that this was true, yet it was a fact worth noting. Although Dr. Vieussens was a pioneer and a very important one he could do nothing in the way of treatment; the science of preparing gland-substance medicine had not as yet been developed. In 1912 a great English surgeon, Sir Victor Horsley, found that when the pituitary gland was damaged from a bursting fracture at the base of the skull and the victim recovered he was thereafter subjected to epileptic fits. He found also that if the pituitary received hurt from other sources, epilepsy had a probable chance of setting in. Diseases of various kinds bringing on pituitary insufficiency in their train also gave rise sometimes to manifestations of the "Sacred Sickness." But by that time the science of making medicines from glands had reached a high plane of development and it was found that patients whose epilepsy was due to defective pituitaries recovered from their epilepsy when given pituitary substance.

As time went on endocrinologists found that other glands were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also implicated in other forms of epilepsy. A French physician, Dr. Souques, found that the ovaries in women, when diseased, often give rise to ovarian epilepsy, particularly during the change of life period when the ovaries begin to lose their function. This type can easily be controlled and cured when the patient is given appropriate doses of ovarian substance to take the place of the ovarian substance which the body lacks.

Still another endocrine gland, the parathyroid, when diseased is found to be the cause of a definite form of epilepsy—in fact this type of ductless gland gives perhaps the commonest form of endocrine epilepsy. Dr. Bisgaard of Copenhagen, who in 1925 discovered this rôle of the parathyroid, discovered also that by feeding the patient a medicine made from the parathyroids the attacks might be aborted and the patient ultimately cured. This was also the experience of Dr. Madsen who had quite a number of gratifying experiences with parathyroid extract in curing this particular form of epilepsy. Disease of the parathyroid glands most frequently gives rise to tetanic fits.

These are but some of the new discoveries in the field of endocrinology. Others are being made daily. Vitamins are found to be very closely related to the work of the adrenals, and some very interesting discoveries are expected in the near future on this phase of endocrinology. Since criminals are very often found to have sick endocrine glands, physicians are now attempting to arrive at an endocrinological definition of crime. Out of the new discoveries constantly being made an interesting story can always be told of the wonders of this science.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Living in Diaries

RICHARDSON WRIGHT
Editor of "House and Garden"

MY first encounter with diaries came shortly after I had attained eleven. A paternal grandfather at whose house most of my youth was passed finally went to join his generation in the churchyard. He was eighty-four, and, like his late Majesty, King Charles the Second, he seemed to be taking an unconscionable time about the business of dying. The local papers expatiated on his lengthy and respectable career. The carriages that trailed his hearse totaled no fewer than fifty-five. At the burial service the minister forsook his accustomed routine to eulogize him. Then the family and immediate mourners, apparently satisfied that none but good had been spoken of the dead, returned to the old house, where cake and wine were served in the back parlor and one of the two remaining daughters solemnly read the will.

That to my youthful mind ended the affair. Not so to those two maiden aunts. It seemed that there still remained a few threads to be gathered up. Scarcely had the last of the visiting mourners disappeared down the front walk than they rustled into the old gentleman's library. I tagged behind. It was a stuffy little room cluttered with books and pictures and countless unabandoned mementoes of a public life. Its one large window faced the tree-shaded Main Street across an absurdly small patch of lawn. The air seemed saturated with a mingled tincture of warm dust, the singed smell of old leather bindings, the reek of stale tobacco smoke and that odor which cannot be called anything other than old gentleman. For he was a very old gentleman and his shaky hand had laid many a stain on what had hitherto always been immaculate clothes and surroundings. The aunts, however, were evidently intent on other stains. "I quite agree," said Ellie to Mary, "that we should burn them. They might make trouble. You know Father was very outspoken." So Ellie opened a cupboard and took from the shelves an assortment of small notebooks tied together with red legal tape. Some of them seemed quite aged for they were powdered with dust and the red tape had faded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to pink. My curiosity as to what they were brought no satisfactory answer from those tight-lipped maiden ladies. Shortly afterward the gardener made a bonfire in the backyard behind the outhouse and Aunt Ellie, entrusting no alien hand with the task, herself fed those books one by one to the flames until they were entirely consumed.

And that, I learned, was the end of Grandfather's diary. He had kept it from the age of nineteen until within a few months of his death. Over sixty years of meteorological observations and what happened and what he had done and thought and observed. It was what he thought that my aunts feared, what he had thought of other people. He probably had "said things." Doubtless many of the people about whom he had said them were still alive. Besides, it was rumored that in his time Grandfather had been quite a blade. He might have become Pepysian and boasted. Yes, the oblivion of the flames was the safest place for that diary.

Then twenty years passed and I found myself fascinated with diary-collecting. This phoenix rose from the ashes of that backyard bonfire in a chance way: I picked up an obscure English magazine containing the fragment of a diary kept by a country grave-digger in the 18th century. From that moment on diaries—any diaries—have been a minor passion with me. Nor have I ever regretted that I am ensnared by this particular form of reading. I only regret that, at the time, I did not know enough to snatch those precious journals from the tremulous maiden ladies, snatch them and hide them in a safe place. At my leisure I then could have vicariously lived that long life over again. And with that vain regret I arrive at the theme of this brief paper. Numberless essays—precious, gossipy, informative, historical, and sentimental—have been composed on the writing and writers of diaries; I propose to set down my reactions on reading diaries.

Salted nuts and diaries both derive their allure from the same source: they are nibbling foods. One takes them in small quantities and is not aware, until the dish is finished, how much has actually been consumed. For that reason, lest one become satiated, it is well to know when to stop. Leave at least one nut in the dish; always leave a few of a year's items to read tomorrow.

My preference being for mixed nuts, I also prefer to read a mixture of diaries. With mixed nuts one merely reaches out and takes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what comes to hand—now an almond, now a peanut, now a nigger-toe, and now a cashew. If a reader approaches diaries with the grim, set purpose of looking up this event or that he's merely picking out the almonds and missing all the others. The real fun derives from taking the entries as they come—the monotonous recordings of temperature and weather, of crops and sickness and local scandal and the immediate, yet dim, reverberations of distant world events. Naturally, if one is pursuing research, one will read particular diaries for certain definite information. The art student, like a hound following the scent, will go nose-down through Joseph Farington and H. B. Haydon. The searcher in English countryside life of the late 18th century will stride through the five volumes of the Reverend James Woodforde and the fragment kept by his neighbor, the Reverend Thomas Roger Du Quesne. The mixed dish, however, may produce what one least expects. The diary of Dr. Claver Morris, who worthily sustained life (to say nothing of three successive wives) from 1659 to 1726, might presumably be a gold mine for the pathologically curious whereas it is equally productive of information on music in a small country town of that period. In the same manner the two-volume diary of that eminent Quaker brewer, William Lucas of Hitchin, reveals not alone some valuable sidelights on both the brewery business and Quakerism of the time, but also affords a vivid picture of the introduction of railways into England and their reluctant acceptance by some of the awed populace. The grave-digger's journal mentioned before contained not so much information on grave-digging as it did on the prices of bread and other foodstuffs in an isolated community during a hard winter.

The social importance or intellectual attainments of the writer prove an uncertain criterion by which to form a pre-reading judgment of a diary. Who would suspect that a rare view of France prior to and during the Revolution could be gathered from the diary of a Scotch gardener resident there? Yet Bailkie's journal has all the calm isolation from nearby swirling events that one finds in the boarding-house mistress of Arnold Bennett's *Old Wives Tale*. Equally one turns to the diary of a Huguenot in early Virginia expecting to read first-hand information on his fellow refugees, only to find that this amiable aristocrat much prefers to spread his pages with descriptions of the estates of well-to-do English settlers who entertain him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During my apprenticeship in reading diaries, the journal of travel first appealed mightily to me. It afforded a sense of motion and adventure and provided a constantly changing scene. I moved from place to place with the diarist and did a vast amount of armchair traveling. Into this class fell the polished observations of John Evelyn both on his grand tour and in traveling about England, together with Captain Basil Hall and the day-to-day accounts of those visitors to America in the early eras—Anbury, Carver, Chastellux, Creswell, Dwight, Mrs. Kemble, Latrobe, and such, who did their best to publicize the Atlantic seaboard for a century or more.

I soon found I was making a profound mistake. I was looking for information. My vicarious traveling had a purpose. If one is to relish a diary, too set or serious a purpose may hinder the enjoyment of reading it. It should be read for itself alone, not for the profitable ends to which one may put the information gathered in its pages. Consequently I now prefer the type of journal in which the writer stays at home and restricts his observations to the obscure happenings of his day-to-day life in a relatively narrow strip of land. In such one walks leisurely through "the landscape gallery of seasons and hours." Because the tempo of these diaries is slow the slightest event is thrown into bold relief. A day's ride to the nearby county-seat becomes a vivid adventure. A serving maid who produces the squalling evidence of her unwise amours provides a scandal to rock the neighborhood. Should you want proofs of these two types of diary-reading take up the journals of that persistent antiquarian and correspondent of Horace Walpole, the Reverend William Cole. One is of his trip to France in 1765; the other of his life at the Bucks village of Blecheley. The latter is by far the more interesting.

Another advantage of the diary which is restricted to a small community or one plane of life is that one has a chance to meet, in addition to the diarist himself, quite an assortment of people and become interested in them. The reader speaks to them as he passes along the village street, sees them at parties, grows to be chatty with them, becomes concerned over their health and the turn of their fortunes, and if, perchance, they pass from those mortal pages, is saddened by their going. All the five volumes of the Reverend James Woodforde of Weston, covering the years 1758 to 1802, I read aloud to my wife. When we came to the end we both regretted that we must leave that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

placid village and never see those good folks again. Imagine our joy when the editor of those diaries, John Beresford, brought out Mr. DuQuesne's fragment with its neighborhood gossip and later when the *Woodforde Papers and Diaries* appeared. It was like coming back home again. Here were the old familiar faces and places and we met in the imaginary flesh distant friends and relatives who had only been names before.

Another winter we slowly went through the days and nights of the eight volumes of Joseph Farington and had a glorious time meeting all the artists and big-wigs of that restricted era—Opie and Benjamin West, Turner, Constable, Hoppner, Lawrence, and Wilkie. Occasionally we would suspect that this old gossip of the Royal Academy was wrong and, digging up collateral evidence, it was a real event in the bosom of our family to prove some unqualified statement he had made to be merely hearsay and incorrect at that. In fact, catching diarists in errors is great sport. One reads along and all of a sudden shouts mentally or actually, "Ah, old boy, I caught you that time!" The pages of Charles Greville are especially good hunting ground. That old key-hole watcher was always inventing secrets when the gossip ran short.

Still another winter, while in Jamaica, we saturated ourselves in the journals of Lady Nugent, Matthew Gregory Lewis, and the Reverend William Turner. Lady Nugent was wife of a governor who held the post there in the first half of the last century. "Monk" Lewis owned cattle pens and sugar plantations at Savannah la Mar. Parson Jones had served as chaplain on the island at the beginning of his ministry. These three provided us with records of devastating fever and delirious celebrations and deep drinking and troubles with the slaves and that final achievement, their freeing. There was, as Mr. Jones expressed it, "great wealth and dreadful wickedness" and he considered this blissful island nothing short of "the suburbs of Hell." The reading of these diaries gave us the blinding sensation of coming out into the broad sunlight after sitting in a darkened room. We would hop into the car and trail them—Jones to Kingston, Lady Nugent to the picturesque old capital, Spanish Town, and Lewis to his coastal plantations over in the Black River country—and the car and our clothes and all the other evidences of modern life seemed crass and offensive anachronisms.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No, not for all the travel diaries in the world would I give up my friendships with some of these diarists of small places—with those two strange ladies of Llangollen, Lady Eleanor Butler and Sarah Ponsonby who settled down in their Gothic cottage and let the world come to them; with the Presbyterian minister, Henry Newcome, who mingled shuffle-board playing with his prayers. Nor would I care to exchange for all the adventure in far places, my friend, Counsellor Timothy Burrell, the Sussex country gentleman, who powdered his pages generously with Greek and Latin and had a love of prodigious eating and drinking.

In reading a diary one lives along with the person who kept it. This is not so acutely possible in reading a biography or even an autobiography. In a biography one follows a life as the author outlines it and, try as he may, he invariably shapes it with the modeling tools of his own point of view or prejudices or range of knowledge or judgment of what is essential and what non-essential to the preconceived complete stature of his subject. In an autobiography one follows a life as the author believes he has lived it. He often forgets or deliberately eliminates contributing influences and events. In a diary—even the fragment of a diary—one watches a life forged and thwarted and advanced by the unhindered march of weather, time, changing circumstances, petty affairs, major events, and contacts with other persons. The reader of a diary sits in the operating cabin of Destiny and calmly watches it work the levers.

This is especially true of the diary that covers an extensive arc of years. One comes to realize that a life rarely consists of a dizzy succession of major events. Most of it is a "monotone of everlastingness," of small, unremitting hammer-strokes beating on that person to fashion him into the shape of a personality. In the humdrum of two Sussex diaries, for example, there emerge from the tap-tap hammerings of Destiny two personages well worth knowing—Mr. Porter, a county-isolated, drink-sodden parson, who imbibes all Saturday night and arises next morning to preach a trenchant sermon on the evils of swearing! And with him trails an equally vivid personality—Mr. Thomas Turner, the general storekeeper of East Hoathly, whose days seem a constant succession of bibulous weakness and rigid repentance.

Therein lies my main aversion to omnibus volumes of diaries. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beginner in this gentle diversion can well sharpen his tyro taste on the three-volume anthology of English, Scottish, and Irish diaries ably selected and edited by Arthur Ponsonby but for more mature enjoyment he will go back and read each of the diaries *in extenso*. Thus to many readers content to dip into selected passages Pepys is merely a knee-pincher and a sybarite of back-stairs amours; read him in his entirety and he proves to be a figure of great importance, a loyal servant to the Crown and a contributing influence to Britain's attainment of the sovereignty of the seas.

The ultimate experience of the hardened diary-collector is the reading of diaries in manuscript. Some years ago while working on a study of Yankee pedlars the descendant of one of them lent me his diary. His specialty was Paisley shawls and his canny methods of display and salesmanship left nothing to be desired. Just now I am spelling through four note-books of the diary of a well-known English singer in the days when Our Gracious Queen was still a young lady. His reactions to the world's reluctant acceptance of his talent do not differ in a single iota from the traditional hauteur of any modern, up-stage prima donna. But for time and place his diary might have been penned by a singer of the Metropolitan Opera Company retired only yesterday.

Manuscript diaries, of course, make fairly difficult reading. In edited volumes of diaries each person and event mentioned is neatly explained in a footnote, but manuscripts rarely provide such easy crutches to lean upon. In reading them one's mind must travel along several different tracks at the same time: one must become familiar with the handwriting, figure mentally who some of the persons were and what some of the events meant, and all the while keep the writer fairly in focus. Often these persons and events mean nothing to the reader. Such passages one skims through in a state of dull obliviousness, even though one feels one ought to look them up. Eventually if one is lazy one drifts into a mental coma and is content merely to watch the writer moving about in a haze of generalities. Perhaps that is enough: life is too short and crowded to answer every demand of the curiosity!

Just as there are some diaries that communicate to the reader the placid, even flow of life, so there are some that manage to arouse his anger. This is especially true of the introspective diary. One feels

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one would like to kick the person, take him by the nape of the neck and drag him out of himself. Lady Margaret Hoby, for instance, who lived from 1599 to 1605, provides us with one of the earliest existing journals in English. If, on opening the book, the reader is not warned of her peculiar nature he is in for two hundred pages of pious self-recrimination from which the lady finally emerges as a first-class, hand-made hypochondriac. On the other hand John Woolman, the American wandering Quaker preacher, though he finds his shortcomings an annoyance, does not annoy the reader of his journal with them. As pious and as queer a stick as ever lived, yet he is a lovable character withal.

Not only the pious diary but the snobbish diary also is likely to upset the reader's patience. I never felt so much like stalking out and voting the Communist ticket as I did on finishing the diary of Mrs. Philip Lylle Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, 1756–1808. That lady was consumed with the social elegancies of life and held to the belief that the Divine Dispenser of All Good had reserved the major portion of it for her class alone. In all her social peregrinations only one oasis of humor was discoverable—the avowal that smallpox scars on the face of a friend gave him a manly appearance!

But whether one becomes placid or excited or angry the ultimate end of diary-reading is to lift us out of our lives and transport us, without the annoyances and disadvantages that invariably accrue from like indiscriminate methods in actual life, into the lives of other persons. Choosing friends and acquaintances hit or miss is rarely a counsel of perfection. In diaries one can do so with perfect safety. The reader can hobnob with all sorts and conditions of men and women without being seen in their company, with never any gossip attached to his name, never any whispering behind hands or looking down noses.

Most of us, moreover, in the course of our daily lives are obliged to be attentive and polite to persons whose interests mean nothing to us or whose personalities bore us to weariness. All of us, on occasions, are obliged to suffer fools gladly—and some of them are not even fools! From this objectionable circumstance the personalities in a diary offer a splendid avenue of escape. They afford a chance to flee the cloying crowd and find amusement and interest in men and women and affairs belonging to a world and time far away and long ago.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters of Theodore Roosevelt and Charles Dwight Willard[1]

February 27th, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Willard:

FIRST let me express my concern at your sickness, and say how really pleased I am that you are getting better. Won't you ask Tracy Becker to arrange to have me come and see you sometime during my visit? I must have a chat if only for five minutes. I like your article. I never mind any assault or any fault finding unless I think that the criticism is made not as representing honest disagreement, but with the purpose to misstate facts. Honest criticism I welcome. When I see you I wish to explain to you just why I think that if we wish to make the reform movement nation-wide and effective we must be moderate. The bulk of the people in New York State and of New England tend to become so frightened by what they regard as the radicalism of the West that they take refuge in support even of the old abuses. For me to fight for the initiative and referendum in New York at present would be an absurdity. Why! it is all I can do to get even a slight and tepid support for direct primaries, and the direct election of United States Senators. As for the recall, it seems to have worked well in Los Angeles, and in Seattle, in two cases, but here the bulk of thinking friends of democracy are at present against it. It is the one measure as to which I myself feel a very grave doubt. But, my dear sir, all of these measures must be judged on their actual workings.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

April 1911.

My Dear Colonel:

You will remember that when we had our little talk at Mr. Earl's lunch, when you were kind enough to ask me to sit next to you, I suggested that I should be allowed to write you a "long" letter after

[1] THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is fortunate in being able to present through its pages these letters which discuss the principles and theories of democracy, popular vote, expediency in politics, and other issues, for the correspondence, though carried on twenty-three years ago, is still singularly appropriate to the times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you had returned to your home, in which I might develop the views of our crowd here on the subject we had under discussion; and you expressed a very cordial willingness that I should do so. Well, here is the letter—too long perhaps, but you can lay it aside and take it up at your leisure—if anything resembling leisure ever comes to you.

To get the record straight, let me restate the subject on which the discussion started, viz.: How far is it politic for you to go in your advocacy of democratic principles and popular rule legislation, in view of the tremendous disapproval with which you say you find such ideas greeted in the Eastern country? Your contention is, as developed in this discussion, and as evidenced in much of your writing and public utterance, that you should use great caution in approaching this topic, should constantly warn the people against excesses, mob-rule and injustice to corporations, and should strive to maintain a moderate middle course, avoiding theories, radical ideas and too much new doctrine all at once. You see I am trying to state your position fairly, although it compels me to use phraseology that begs the question in your favor.

Now, as you are probably aware, this identical question is one that is often discussed among our friends, for it is the very crux of the present political situation and your relation to it. It is, no doubt, also discussed among your enemies, but that does not interest us. You have traveled too far in the field of politics to allow the views of those who are against you to carry weight with you. I mention this to show that we do not harbor the thought that in selecting this "moderate" course you are trying to placate your enemies. They are against you for what you are and for what you have done, and they will never be with you until that day arrives when they will come to you, wringing their hands and imploring you to save them and the country from the flood of radicalism.

Your visit to this state must have convinced you anew of what you already understood, viz.: that your friends, the Progressives of California, are not mere political theorists, but are practical, working good citizens of the type you believe in. What such men say is sure of a sympathetic hearing from you, and the present spokesman is one who, as you know, has been in the thick of the fight with them for many years, and who ought to be able to reflect their views with a fair degree of accuracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I suppose no man in this country has been offered more advice than you, so a little more will do no harm. Only I like to think of this not as an attempt on our part to advise one whose career has shown such a superb capacity for doing the wisest thing, but rather as a consultation between the leader and a portion of the led as to the choice of a route.

Recently I came upon something in one of Lincoln's speeches that set me to thinking of your unique position before the American people today. Referring to the extraordinary influence exercised by Douglas he said: "In this and like communities public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

No one of our 25 American presidents ever left office better equipped and better circumstanced than yourself to fulfill the great function to which Lincoln refers. The great mass of the American people recognize that you are sincere, that you mean to be just, that you desire nothing so much as the welfare of the country, and they admire you for the work you have done and also for that you began but could not complete. Wherever you go the people crowd to hear you, and, what is much more, they are ready to heed you. Such a condition with respect to one who has gone through the long struggle of the presidency is almost unprecedented.

This rôle of counsellor and guide is not new to you, for you have always,—more, I think, than any other president excepting Lincoln —kept yourself near to the people in the progress of your work. Your messages were not to Congress but to the American people, and you spoke to them face to face, frankly and frequently.

But though the rôle is not new, you are acting it under new conditions. You are no longer the nation's executive taking the people into your confidence, the doer of large deeds explaining his purposes and his hopes. For the first time in your life of splendid activity you are an outsider, speaking without the voice of authority and offering your views only as abstractions to be received on their merit as such. Your personality gets them a hearing, but in the long run they are adopted if they are sound and clear, and refused if they are vague and unconvincing, just as they would be coming from anyone else.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is quite possible that this change of condition may have its psychological effect upon you. A man who has spent his life, as you have, in important executive positions acquires in a high degree the faculty of swift and accurate assimilation of fact and a power of clear-cut sudden determination that is almost like intuition. Such habits are not to be changed over night, not over year, although those nights in the jungle must have been of great service to you. What an enormously wise thing that was for you to do, by the way, to hide yourself in the wilds and think it all over! But this new rôle, if it is to be successful and accomplish all its great possibilities calls for a vast amount of thinking, yes, even dreaming, and not even the combination of a powerful intellect, a huge capacity for work and a life of rich experience will serve to fill the place that the thinking and dreaming should occupy.

Your life has been a succession of tests, every one of which you have met bravely, intelligently and victoriously, but it is possible you are now facing the severest of them all. Possessed of an absolute passion for usefulness and with many years of active energy before you, if you fail to hold the moral leadership you now have with the people, it will be a great loss to the nation and a source of infinite regret to yourself. We have no fear that this will happen. We are sure that you will meet this test as you have the others; that you will adapt yourself naturally and without conscious effort to the new conditions of your life, to the new relationship between yourself and the people.

I think that the concrete issue on which this discussion started—your attitude toward democracy and your method of expression in presenting its case to the public—serves admirably as a guide-post on the dividing line between the old conditions and the new. You approach democracy with the brisk determined manner of the administrator, the practical man of affairs, who wants results and wants them quickly. And I suppose you would smilingly answer that we approach it like religionists, soulfully, reverentially, and as men of one idea. Without hesitation I confess it; we do. Once when I was lunching at the City Club in New York, I heard Lincoln Steffens call out across the table to John J. Murphy, who was then secretary of the Citizens' Union, "Murphy, do you believe in the people?" "Sure I do," answered Murphy. "What else is there to believe in?" To us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it seems the one thing in the whole scheme of human affairs that we may believe in without reservation and without limitation: that the people should rule. You say it is merely a means to an end, and that the end is good government. We are just as keen as anybody for good government, but we would, if we had to choose, rather have bad government with democracy than good government without it. Government itself is only a means to an end—to give a man a chance to be happy and to develop the best that is in him. And that is just what democracy does, and does it first-hand, directly. Its function as a maker of government is valuable and important, giving it rank above every other kind or sort of government agency; but its function as a maker of men is almost God-like. Right there is where the religion comes in. There is where, perhaps you will say, we think with our feelings. Well, it is a soul-satisfying process, and up to date has not interfered with our getting very real and very valuable results.

I know that you feel that you are just as thoroughly grounded in a belief in the rule of the people as any of us—and, indeed, you say so in your letter to me, although expressing grave doubts as to the wisdom of the recall, and declaring that all direct legislation theories are to be judged by their workings—ah, my dear Colonel, you can never get admitted to our lodge with those passwords—however, you say that your utterances must be governed by expediency in order to get results, and must be moderately and cautiously expressed, and you offer Lincoln and his opinion of John Brown and other extremists by way of illustration. Yes; there speaks the practical man, the man of affairs, the man with a record for results; but there does *not* speak the great moral leader of the people. He is coming to us later, I firmly hope and believe, but he is not quite here yet. As I said in the article that first attracted your notice: "On the way and headed in the right direction and constantly moving" and that is almost enough to satisfy us—almost but not quite.

Well, we know some things about expediency and moderation out here in this state. That was the way we used to fight the Southern Pacific, with a few principles in one hand and an apology for them in the other. Not myself, I don't mean—I always was for fire and sword. But it was not until men came into the game like the ones you know best and like best in this state, Heney, Johnson, Earl, Lissner, Stimson, Older, Rowell, and Gibbon—men who said "To hell with ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pediency, give me an axe!"—that we began to get results. You rather approved of the results, did you not?

If anyone were to ask me what I thought were Theodore Roosevelt's greatest faults (I am getting right down to business now you see), I should answer: "Modesty and a Sense of Justice." I decided on the last a long time ago, and on the first when I saw a splendid letter of yours to Fremont Older. I agreed with what you said and did in that matter, by the way; your position seemed sound to me—but just the same it showed how you underestimate your strength with the people. They want you to lead—never mind about the politicians, let us get down to the real people—they want you to show them. You, *you* need not worry about expediency and how much they will stand. Get what is right and give it to them straight. And the judicial mind gives a full, fair consideration of the evidence of both sides, but does not try to divide up the decision so that both parties shall get some of it. If you want us to learn the big vital rule, do not confuse us with the many trivial exceptions. If the water of democracy is good to drink, do not frighten people by talking of the half grain of chloride of sodium to be found in a hogsheadful. What if the people do make a few mistakes—a few more mistakes? What if some injustice may be done—a little more injustice? What does it all amount to compared with the infinite possibilities that lie in the rise of the people to power and the overthrow of privilege?

What would Lincoln do? What did he do? A practical man, a man with a keen sense of expediency, yet when he came to lay down his creed on the great issue of his day, he spoke as an idealist, and in utter disregard of political conditions. Not if you were now to endorse the single tax idea or avow yourself a socialist, would your views seem as radical to the American people of 1911 as did those of Abraham Lincoln in 1859 when he declared that this Union could not permanently endure half slave and half free. It was an absolutely new doctrine, most revolutionary in character, and one of the main contributing causes to a war which we now all recognize was inevitable—yet he uttered it frankly, boldly, clearly, with no modifying words or phrases and with no accompanying doubts and exceptions that would leave people befogged. Much of what you say is like that—clear, incisive, effective—but not what you have offered thus far on the subject of democracy, which like the slavery question in the days of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lincoln is the one great overwhelming issue on which determined and unequivocal utterance is most needed.

I will not apologize for the frankness of this letter for it is offered to one who has the breadth and the sympathy to understand its spirit and intent. Please do not feel that you must take the time to "answer" it—as we say of letters, although I should like to know that it has been received. Permit me also to thank you for the courtesy you showed me on your visit here, and to say that if at any time you wish information about matters here or on any subject in my line, I am at your service.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES DWIGHT WILLARD

April 28th 1911.

My Dear Mr. Willard:

Not only is your letter very interesting, but I am touched by its sincerity and kindly frankness. I do not think you need be told how genuine my admiration for you is, nor what it means to me to have the chance of hearing from and working with one whose motives and purposes are so transparently high and fine, and who has done and is doing and will be doing such a quantity of invaluable work for the State.

Now I want to make one thing a little clearer than I did. I judge by your letter that you think I am putting my chief stress upon the question as to how far it is "politic" and expedient for me to go in my advocacy of what you call "democratic principles and popular rule legislation" in view of the tremendous disapproval in the East. In the first place I ought to have made it more evident than I apparently did make it, that I was using the words "politic" and "expedient" only in the sense that I would use them in discussing Abraham Lincoln's attitude toward slavery, or Washington's attitude towards liberty and independence. When a young man in the Illinois Legislature Lincoln fearlessly put himself on record as against slavery; but he resolutely declined to join the anti-slavery parties in '44 and '48 on the ground that the movements were so inexpedient that they did harm and not good to the cause; and in '56, '58, '60, and even well on into '62, he also resolutely declined to join the abolitionists, and to head a crusade for the total destruction of slavery, confining

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

himself to opposition to the extension of slavery into new territory, until the time became ripe to move for its final abolition. I do not agree with you in your description of his statement in 1858 that the Union could not permanently endure half slave and half free. He again and again sought to modify what he had said by words and phrases, and for over a year after the civil war had begun, in '61 and '62, when he was President, in his letter to Horace Greeley, in his answer to the deputation of ministers, and on many other occasions, including his first inaugural, he explicitly stated that his effort was to preserve the Union with or without slavery, and that if it could best be preserved by keeping slavery undisturbed in the Southern States, then he believed in keeping slavery—that is, he believed in the effort to keep the Union just as he said it could not permanently be kept. This, however, is a historic question merely, and with no real bearing upon what I wish to say to you; except that I do wish you to understand that according to my lights, however dim they may be, I am endeavoring to work in the spirit in which Abraham Lincoln worked. I believe his success was due to the fact that he refused to be swerved out of the path of cautious and moderate advance by the denunciations of the fiery and sincere enthusiasts like Wendell Phillips, who, as you will remember, denounced him as "the slave-hound of Illinois." I do not think that these extremists were purer and better men than Lincoln, the head of the moderates, was; I think they were merely more foolish men, and that if they had had their way, instead of bringing about a better condition of affairs, they would have wrecked the Union and destroyed the anti-slavery cause. Just in the same way I believe that the French revolutionists when, not content with what they had gained in 1789, they pushed forward into the four years of red anarchy that culminated in the terror, did more to damage democracy, more to put back the cause of popular government, than any despot or oligarchy from that time to this. Remember that these were the men who made a "religion" of democracy, who typified "liberty" as a goddess; and who prattled words like these while their hearts were black with murder committed in such names. Do read Acton's Lectures on the French Revolution.

Now do not think I believe that to be moderate and to show wisdom and commonsense means ever to be half-hearted, or means that the "root and branch" policy is not sometimes the wisest and indeed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the only wise policy. Lincoln was not half-hearted. His zeal was just as intense, his purpose as inflexible, as the zeal and the purpose of the extremists who denounced him. And his policy of moderation did not mean weakness; on the contrary, when the time was ripe he struck with iron determination, and he saw the time when compromise would be fatal just as he saw the time when insistence upon no compromise would be fatal.

My dear fellow, I absolutely agree with what you say as to the new conditions under which I am speaking. The only point on which I disagree with you is as to the importance of the new rôle. I do not believe that I have a very great rôle to play as adviser, but I do want to feel that, however little the effect I may have, yet that that effect shall be for good. I do want to be useful, and I thank you for seeing and saying that I want to be useful.

Now all of this is preliminary to what you have said, and to what I wish to say as to what you call the concrete issue; as you put it, "your attitude toward democracy, and your method of expression in presenting the case to the public." Now I deeply err about my own attitude if it is not that of a genuine democrat, and if my democracy does not represent not only reasoned conviction but intense sympathy, and, as I believe, deep understanding. I have always kept a cartoon that

HIS FAVORITE AUTHOR.—From the *Chronicle* (Chicago)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appeared about me while I was President. This cartoon was called "His Favorite Author." It represented a barely furnished room, and before a small fire, seated in a shabby old rocking-chair, shabbily dressed, was an old fellow, apparently a farmer, with furrowed chin and whiskered face. It was the picture of a man who worked hard, for whom life was not too easy, who had had no unfair advantages in life —the face of a kindly, good, hard-working man—and the "Favorite Author's" work which he was reading was one of my Presidential messages. The cartoon represented very much to me. That is the man I have tried to represent. That is the man with whom I deeply sympathise, whose welfare and beliefs and convictions I have ever before me, and with whom I feel absolute community of thought in the essential things of life. Our views of war and peace, of family life and business, of politics, of justice and morality, of all the really essential things, are fundamentally the same. I am very fond of books and of study, of pictures and of bronzes, just as I am fond of the woods and of watching wild birds and beasts, and I like to talk with scholars and literary men, and leaders of thought of all kinds. But the men with whom I feel genuine sympathy are not big business men, big corporation lawyers, big contractors of the ordinary type; the men of whom I am always thinking, and whose emotions and convictions I understand and represent, are men like those whom I meet at railway employees' conventions, or out on ranches, or down at the lodge, where I come in contact with the bayman, the oyster-sloop captain, the express agent, the brakeman, the farmer, the small storekeeper, the man who is my cousin's gardener, my own chauffeur, and others like them. They are the men beside whom I have fought in battle, beside whom I struggle in politics, with whose business and domestic ideals I sympathize. But, my dear Mr. Willard, I think the very fact that I am a genuine democrat, and that I feel that those men are like me and that I am like them, prevents my falling into what I feel is the dangerous frame of mind that has been so fatally attractive to the French and most of the Latin peoples in the past, the tendency to speak of democracy, for instance, as if it were a goddess, as if the mere name had a fetichistic or superstitious value. I think you yourself in your letter unconsciously used "democracy" with two or three different significations, now, for instance, as a method of government, now, for instance, as expressing a social ideal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Take the first use for a moment, the use of the word "democracy" to mean a method of government. You speak as if the initiative, referendum and recall meant more genuine rule by the people than is obtained through representative government. Now this may or may not be so. If you tried to push matters to an extreme in this way, you would destroy all popular rule. If, for instance, you abolish the Legislature, and had all laws enacted by popular vote, you would as a matter of actual practice deprive ninety-nine per cent of the people of all real control over legislation; just as in New York City if you, in the name of popular rule, attempted to elect by the people all the forty-five thousand employees of the city, it would merely result in depriving the people absolutely of all power over their representatives. I say this because I am one of the people, and I am reasoning about the rest of the people from my own experience. Where I have to hire and work with only four or five men, I of course hire them myself and work with them myself. But when I was colonel, I had to delegate the business of enlisting men into the regiment to a number of subordinates, and then I could carry on the business of the regiment only by dealing primarily not with each individual but with the various heads of various groups and individuals. So in civil life. As I am not a professional bread and butter politician, I find it enormously to my interest to choose some man whom I believe to be honest and competent, and to delegate to him the task of appointing governmental agents, or of passing the great majority of the laws that ought to be passed. This delegation of authority, so far from meaning the surrender of authority, is merely a method of making authority more efficient; and the question as to how far the delegation shall go is one of pure expediency, and the only way it can be treated is by its results. I was immensely impressed with the Wisconsin people, when I stopped at Madison on my return journey, just because they were not approaching the question of the initiative, referendum and recall in a fetichistic spirit, but in an entirely practical fashion, with the belief that it was an advantage rationally to apply the principles in governmental work, and that it would be a very great disadvantage if they were not applied under such conditions as made good result from them. In certain places in Switzerland, for instance, the initiative has had the unexpected result of giving a small and alert minority an altogether improper advantage over the majority, enabling them ceaselessly to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worry the majority, and sometimes, when they caught the majority napping, to do them real damage. Under such conditions, the majority is bound in the end to protect itself without much regard to theory by facing facts as they are. Governor Bass of New Hampshire was here last evening, and I took the liberty of reading him part of your letter. He is as sincere a progressive as Governor Johnson, but he has not endeavored to press the initiative, referendum and recall in New Hampshire any more than Governor Johnson has deemed it necessary to try to introduce the town meeting style of government into Los Angeles. The town meeting represents much more genuine democracy in the sense that you in part of your letter use the word "democracy" than the initiative and referendum, and I think it is the best possible government for the best type of small community; but I think it would be a complete failure in a big city, as was proved by the experience of Boston. If the New Hampshire Legislature does not prove responsive to the popular will, then New Hampshire will have to secure more direct governmental control by the people as a whole; but at present the people take no interest in such direct legislation, simply because they feel that their representatives are representing them. In Vermont, methods of legislation which I should like to see adopted in some other States are not necessary, simply because Vermont representatives do represent the people. Any trouble in Vermont is due to causes operating among the people themselves, not among their representatives. Here in New York, while I think that much good could be accomplished by introducing certain features of the initiative, referendum and recall (and in New York State, curiously enough, I think the need for the recall as applied to the judiciary is far greater than in most states, although no greater than in California), yet the fundamental need is to have the people take the right view on public questions. Last year, for instance, the issue was perfectly clean-cut here in New York. Decent people and decent principles were on one side; the bosses of both parties, and the whole system of alliance between big business and big politics, and all else that was bad from the civic and social standpoints, were represented on the other side. The people of New York went by sixty thousand the wrong way. No initiative or referendum, or anything else, would have been of use in preventing them going wrong; and no good that the initiative, or the referendum, or the recall, or any other device, could have accom-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plished last year or this year could in any way compensate for the amount of damage the people did to themselves by trusting in and following bad leadership at the last election. In other words, as I have so often insisted, while governmental machinery is important, it is the spirit of the people behind the machinery that counts most. In our government the question of the *rights* of the people is not nearly as important as the question of the *duties* of the people. Here the people is sovereign. Let the sovereign beware of flatterers! If your son is to do well in any occupation it will be because you have instilled into him, or at least because he acts on, the belief that he needs to think of his duty ten times where he needs to think of his rights once; and what is true of each of us individually is true of all of us collectively, that is of the people.

So much for democracy where you use the word as implying a preference for one system of popular government over another. Now for what you say about democracy in its larger aspect. My dear fellow, you say "To us it seems the one thing in the whole scheme of human affairs that we can believe in without limitation and without reservation, that the people should rule." If you literally applied this without qualification and explanation in California, it would of course mean that the Chinese and Japanese should come in in unlimited quantities, and should rule you. Now you don't mean this, any more than the Texan and Mississippian who use the same phraseology mean that the negroes of the black belt should rule. There is to me always something both pathetic and grimly ironic in the Socialist propaganda when coupled with the fact that as a working theory no Socialist party in this country could endure for twenty-four hours if, not as a matter of theory, but as a matter of practice, it applied its doctrines to black men and yellow men. Every real democrat in this country, every democrat who tries to put his democracy into practice, and does not treat it either as a theory to be used for his selfish benefit, or an agreeable abstraction not to be applied in real life; every such democrat acts and always must act on the perfectly sound (although unacknowledged, and often hotly contested) belief that only certain people are fit for democracy. When face to face with facts, no democrat would really contend that African dwarfs or digger Indians are fit for democracy—that is, no democrat who lives among them would so contend. You say that you would rather have bad government with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy than good government without it, because "government itself is only a means to an end to give a man a chance to be happy, and to develop the best that is in him. And that is just what democracy does, and does it first-hand, directly. Its function as a maker of men is almost Godlike." If you take a people, a race, that stands high enough, this is true; but if you seek to apply this doctrine to all men everywhere it is lamentably and ludicrously false. Remember that a lie is just as much a lie if designed to bolster up a beautiful theory as under any other circumstances. As Emerson says, in the long run the most unpleasant truth is a safer travelling companion than the pleasantest falsehood. In Haiti, absolute democracy has been at work for over a century; and really, my dear Mr. Willard, it is sad to think of your sentence of the function of democracy being "Godlike as a maker of men," and then think of what democracy has done to Haiti. It would be far truer to say that its function there had been "devil-like" than that its function there had been "God-like." I firmly believe that the American people is so advanced that on the whole they can do better for themselves than any man or men could do for them, and also better than any man or men are able to do for any other people, because the best and highest government must necessarily be democracy, for the very reason that only the best and highest people can fully realize democracy. But those who expect the impossible from the adoption of democratic forms prepare for themselves the most bitter disappointment, and may do dreadful harm to the cause of popular freedom, to the cause of the elevation of the race. I believe that as a governmental expedient the rule of the majority is the only safe rule for us in America to adopt. But I hold that the insistence that the majority is always right may be just as slavish and vicious as insistence upon the doctrine that the king can do no wrong. I suppose no one now seriously contends that during reconstruction days the negro majority in Mississippi and South Carolina acted wisely, or that it was possible to continue the government in the hands of that majority. On the other hand, the whites of Mississippi and South Carolina, not merely by a majority but with substantial unanimity, decided in 1861 to leave the Union, decided to plunge the country into four years of dreadful war and to ruin their own states, with the purpose of breaking up the one great free republic on the face of the earth, and of enthroning slavery in perpetuity. The views

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the majority of those two states, and the aims of those two states at that time, were those of the Devil and not those of God; and that man deserved best of his fellows who fearlessly withstood the popular will. When a state votes to repudiate its debts, it does not mean that it is right that the debts should be repudiated, it means that the majority is acting badly. Three centuries ago the rule of the majority in Scotland meant savage oppression of Catholic and Episcopalian and frightful cruelty to witches and free thinkers; and at the same time the rule of the majority in Spain meant an infinitely more hideous persecution of Protestant, Jew and Moslem. In both cases the rule of the majority, of the people, meant the negation of liberty; in Spain it meant the destruction of everything that makes life worth living, and ultimately the destruction of the Spanish people. At present the rule of the majority in Morocco means every variety of hideous cruelty, injustice and social and governmental abomination. It would be enormously to the benefit of the people of Morocco if the French took hold of them and did for them what they have done in Algiers. When the people of the Sudan ruled themselves, they were guilty of conduct which not figuratively but literally meant that it would be better that they should all die than thus continue to rule themselves; as a matter of fact, two-thirds of them did die, and justice and liberty came only when the rule of an alien supplanted the rule which, by the action or with the acquiescence of the majority, had been established. All of this seems to me so elemental as to be trite. The rule of the majority is good only if the majority has the will and the morality and the intelligence to do right; and the majority of the peoples of mankind are not yet in such shape that they can prosper under the very kind of rule which it is essential for us here in America to have, and under which alone *we* can prosper and bring ourselves to the highest point of developed usefulness.

My dear Mr. Willard, read what Lincoln said in his answer to Douglas as to the real meaning of the Declaration of Independence, and in the comparison he makes in speaking of equality between himself and a negro, and you will get exactly the idea of what I regard as the proper temper in which to approach these subjects. I do not think that the most fervent zeal, the utmost earnestness, and the most resolute determination to help forward the cause of the people, ought to be permitted to mean that we are afraid to look facts in the face.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I too am a dreamer of dreams; I hold the man worthless who is not a dreamer, who does not see visions; but I also hold him worthless unless in practical fashion he endeavors to shape his actions so that these dreams and visions can be partially realized, and shall not remain mere dreams and visions, or, what is worse still, shall not be turned into will-o'-the-wisps to lead struggling mankind to destruction. Robespierre and Marat, and Danton and Barrère, and the other dreadful miscreants of the Terror, used all the fine phrases known to lovers of mankind at the very time that they worked to France a damage almost as great as that which had been wrought by Louis XV

Last page of Roosevelt's letter of April 28, 1911

and shall not remain mere dreams and visions, or, what is worse still, shall not be turned into will-o'-the-wisps to lead struggling mankind to destruction. Robespierre and Marat, and Danton and Barrère, and the other dreadful miscreants of the Terror, used all the fine phrases known to lovers of mankind at the very time that they worked to France a damage almost as great as that which had been wrought by Louis XV and his predecessors and ministers and associates. I shall be sorry indeed if I ever unwittingly use words which shall dampen the zeal and dim the burning vision of those who fight for the right and struggle toward it; but I shall be equally sorry if I ever use words which shall deceive good men for whom life is not easy into following wrong paths, or into preparing bitter disappointment for themselves, by trusting in promises that cannot be fulfilled.

Are you ever coming to this side of the continent ? I should like to see you when we can talk over these matters face to face for a whole evening.

Faithfully yours,
Theodore Roosevelt

P.S. You say that I can never be admitted into your lodge by the use of words such as I have used. Friend, in my lodge the masters of the past are Washington and Lincoln, and admission to it is not by words or fine, futile phrases, but by service and achievement; and it is only by membership in this lodge that good can really be done by the lovers of mankind.

Mr Charles Dwight Willard,
485 Del Rosa Drive, Pasadena, Cal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and his predecessors and ministers and associates, a damage from which France has never recovered, and which largely offset even the tremendous good accomplished by overthrowing the iniquity of the Old Régime. I shall be sorry indeed if I ever unwittingly use words which shall dampen the zeal and dim the burning vision of those who fight for the right and struggle toward it; but I shall be equally sorry if I ever use words which shall deceive good men for whom life is not easy into following wrong paths, or into preparing bitter disappointment for themselves by trusting in promises that cannot be fulfilled.

Are you ever coming to this side of the continent? I should like to see you when we can talk over these matters face to face for a whole evening.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

P.S. You say that I can never be admitted into your lodge by the use of words such as I have used. Friend, friend, in my lodge the masters of the past are Washington and Lincoln, and admission to it is not by words or fine, futile phrases, but by service and achievement; and it is only by membership in this lodge that good can really be done by the lovers of mankind.

June 9th, 1911

My dear Colonel:

I found that the longer I put off replying to your letter, the more I was condensing, in my own mind, what I thought I should say to you; and as I thought this was a good symptom, I continued to postpone. Besides I wished to take plenty of time to enjoy the pleasure of responding to such a letter as you wrote me—one so full of suggestion and of personal confidences and of lines of pregnant thinking. While it may be rather an everyday matter to you to write a letter to some theoretical chap out West—the language is my own and not attributed to you—for me to be discussing governmental issues with an ex-president—particularly this *kind* of an ex-president—is something in the nature of a historical event. So you are expected, please, to regard most of the delay as an evidence of complimentary respect.

Now if you don't mind my backing up a little for a start, this affair began with my writing an editorial in which I said that Theo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dore Roosevelt was the finest kind of a man, in spite of the fact that he did not believe in the people and trust them to the extent we did here in California. To which you replied in a letter to my friend Becker, that you felt you were just as strong for the rule of the people as we were, but that the voters of the East were not quite ready for the doctrine yet, and you thought best to advance it with caution. At least, that was the idea I got from your letter to Becker, and from the letter written afterwards to me, and, more than all, from your talk at the luncheon at the Alexandria.

But it seems I was in error on that, for your present letter handles the policy matter in a sentence or two, and puts it completely out of business. The greater part of your letter—other than the very interesting personal section—is devoted to an argument that our brand of democracy is extreme and dangerous and—by natural inference—very different from your own. Now, of course, we have no copyright on the word, and could not, and would not stop you from calling your point of view true democracy and ours something else. Perhaps democracy is like orthodoxy—the exclusive possession of the one who happens to be speaking. Only, let me again recall what the issue was in its inception: whether you did, as a matter of fact, look at these things as we did. Your letter seems to settle that point quite conclusively, even though it may be to our disadvantage. The purpose of my letter—my long letter I mean—was to urge that you give this issue of direct legislation special prominence in the great work that we all feel you can do with the American people. To strengthen this plea, I "held forth" on the power of democracy to develop the best there is in man. But your letter routs me, horse, foot and dragoons, and drives me back inside my lines, and compels me to defend my own citadel. I must entirely abandon the attack. The best I can hope to do is to make it clearer to you that this California crowd of your sincere friends and admirers is not quite so far outside the domain of sound reasoning as you seem to fear.

But as that is rather a personal issue, and not one of general bearing, I will make it as brief as possible, merely touching the chief questions you raise.

First, as to Hayti, the Sudan, etc. We certainly do not think that a belief in the capacity of the American people to govern themselves under a pure democracy requires that we should also believe that the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

initiative and referendum would be a good thing to give to the Hottentots or Bushmen: or conversely, that because democracy will not work well in Hayti and San Domingo, we should regard it with suspicion in the United States. It is a general principle that freedom is best for mankind; yet we do shut some men up in penitentiaries. I hold that democracy uplifts those who enjoy its privileges, but I freely admit that it will not do for Hayti.

Second, we do not for a moment admit that consistency requires, as you suggest, that the people of New York City should, under democracy, elect their 48,000 employees. The rule of "Qui facit per alium, facit per se" holds in every plan of government. When the people elect a Mayor clothed by law with the power of appointing a thousand subordinates they elect all the thousand. Democracy and the short ballot are not antagonistic, but on the contrary belong together. The very essence of democracy is that those who serve the people should be genuinely representative of the people. That calls for the highest possible intelligence of choice, and that means logically a limitation of the number chosen to a mere handful.

Third, consistency certainly does not require that we should abolish the legislature, as you suggest. Direct legislation is intended not as a scheme to allow people to make and pass on laws, but as an automatic method of making sure that representatives truly represent. As long as the legislative body follows the wishes of its constituency, there will be no interference from the people. There is a margin of possible error, as you very clearly point out in your reference to Switzerland, where a minority might cause delay or a little expense. Nothing is free from drawbacks. In an intelligent community it is not easy to get signatures to frivolous things. Occasionally a trick might be pulled off, but not one as against ten under the mis-representative system.

Fourth, we are not compelled to believe that the people are always right. Of course they are frequently wrong in small things, and occasionally wrong on big things. It is a question of percentages and comparison. We believe there will be fewer mistakes under the system of democracy than under the system of uncontrolled representatives. And the former has the enormous advantage of educating the people.

Fifth, as to a tendency on our part to flatter the Demos, I must

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confess that your criticism is eminently sound and just. Peccavi! However, as Sam Weller says about wife-beating, "It's an amiable veakniss."

Sixth, again I must admit that I certainly expressed myself awkwardly to have given you the impression that I meant at any time social instead of political democracy. I meant exclusively the latter. The former is not a serious issue of today. Because I am contending for the right of John Smith and Tom Jones to take a direct hand in running the government when necessary, it does not follow that I must ask them to dine at my home. Consistency is a jewel, but not a strait-jacket. As Lincoln said to Douglas, "Because I am unwilling to hold a negro woman as a slave, must I then stand ready to marry her?" I think, by the way, that your career shows the possession of a marvelous sentiment of social democracy. You understand the people and get next to them, as we say, and as a result they love you in a personal sort of a way. This is very interesting and beautiful, but bears only indirectly on the issue of political democracy.

Seventh, while you are too polite and kindly to put it into words, I am somehow conscious of the fact that you look upon us as approaching this subject from a theoretical stand-point, whereas you are trying to regard it practically. This experience is not new to us. It is the regular thing, and we are hardened to it. I was secretary of the Municipal League of Los Angeles, at the time direct legislation was adopted into the charter, and I campaigned in its behalf, speaking night after night all over town. We carried it five to one. Then in that same position, I made use of it a number of times, always successfully, to fight off Southern Pacific machine rascalities in our city government. On one specific occasion, about which there is not the shadow of a doubt, we saved the city one million dollars. I had charge of gathering the signatures, drew up petitions, managed and helped to manage campaigns. Now am I to be allowed to have "practical" views on this subject, or merely "theoretical"? Yet my work is not a circumstance to the years of faithful labor and practical effort put forth by W. S. U'Ren; but every Eastern newspaper editor who writes from a library, and never crossed the Mississippi, holds up U'Ren as an example of a "mere theorist" on this subject, while he, the editor, is a "practical" man. Words have queer meanings sometimes. Let me say, however, that of course I recognize that your

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extraordinary experience in all lines of politics gives you a sort of *Emeritus* title of "practical," and that on this particular matter you have posted yourself. I cheerfully concede that part of it; but I venture a mild protest at our wrong classification.

Let me say again in conclusion, that this letter is offered merely as an explanation and I hope justification of our point of view, and not at all in criticism of yours. You carried the war into Africa, and it is on that territory that resistance is offered.

I think your last article in the *Outlook* on the Standard Oil decision one of the most thoroughly serviceable things you have ever done. It will help greatly to clear up the public mind.

Thank you for your kindly personal expressions. I have a dream that some day I may be well enough to come East again, but—

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES DWIGHT WILLARD.

June 20th 1911.

Dear Mr. Willard:

Upon my word! you are a trump; and I do not see how I could have written a better confession of my own faith than that contained in your article on "Who is going to do it?" I shall show it to Gompers when he lunches with me, as I hope he will, next week. My dear fellow, down at bottom, I believe that you and I are in substantial agreement on all the real things. I am so in earnest about these matters that when I see a man in whom I believe very greatly going, as I think, a little to an extreme, I am apt to devote attention to him which I should not dream of devoting to the ordinary man with whom I do not agree. I am a thousand times nearer you, even as regards those positions about which I do not agree with you, than I am to the average respectable business man with a fatted soul, who regards himself as embodying what is best in New York City. Here in this State we have not been able really to wake up the people. For instance, they distrust the labor unions so deeply that it is very hard to get them to feel as indignant as they ought to feel about the recent Supreme Court decision against the constitutionality of Workmen's Compensation Acts. If I could really get the people aroused here, I should try to take every man off the bench who made that decision,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon the ground that a judge capable of making it was unfit to be trusted with the delicate, complex and highly responsible duty of the court in the presence of our struggle for better things, socially and industrially.

I am touched by what you say as to my relation, socially, with many of our fellow citizens who are what they would themselves call "Plain" people. I almost hesitate to say, even to you, how democratic my ideal in this respect is. I never was more thoroughly happy than on the ranch, just because the conditions were such that it was natural to have the hired man and hired girl sit down at table with us; and when I was in the White House, it was a matter of keen pride to me that every cowpuncher, or backwoodsman, or anyone else who had ever had me in his house or shown me courtesy, felt welcome and at home in the White House. Yours is a mighty fine letter, and I thank you for it.

Very sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

ALL READY FOR THE FIREWORKS
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Phi Beta Kappa Prospects at Chicago Under the New Plan

C. S. BOUCHER
Dean of the College

AMONG high-school and college educators greater emphasis, in rapidly increasing amounts, is being placed upon substance as contrasted with forms. This is evidenced by the very significant programs and activities of the Progressive Education Association's Commission on the Relation of School and College, the Educational Records Bureau, the Cooperative Test Service, the Study of the Relations of Secondary and Higher Education in Pennsylvania, the Every-Pupil Contest of the University of Iowa in the high schools of the State, the Committee on Revision of Standards of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the North Central Association, the report on *Comprehensive Examinations in American Colleges* by Edward S. Jones for the Association of American Colleges, and the New Plan of the University of Chicago—to mention only a few of the most outstanding of such programs and activities.

In the Pennsylvania Study not a few instances were discovered such as the following: on a comprehensive objective examination given to seniors a young woman, about to receive her degree *magna cum laude*, scored fifth from the bottom in a class of forty-eight in her institution and in the lowest 10 per cent for the state; after reviewing the case the examiner at the institution reported that the girl was an ambitious credit-hunter, extremely eager to satisfy her teachers, and had received high marks term by term, although his inspection showed that her courses were mainly those for which credit was notoriously easy to get; she was tractable, of pleasant personality, very religious, and apparently had put the faculty completely under a spell as to the validity of her intellectual activities.

Under our old plan of measuring the student's progress in terms of course credits and grade points based on course marks—a plan still almost universally employed by the colleges of this country—not a few students were elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Chicago because they judiciously elected "pipe" courses given by faculty members who were notoriously "easy" or high markers and courses by some other faculty members who marked not on genuine intellectual achievement alone but rather more than less on pleasantness of personality, faithfulness, promptness, neatness, and complete conformity in routine. Such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

factors still enter too frequently and too prominently into the award of high marks and thus the award of the Phi Beta Kappa key in too many colleges.

I do not wish to be understood as belittling the importance and value of these traits. I merely raise the question whether the evaluation of such traits and characteristics should be merged and confused with the evaluation of genuine intellectual attainment in the award of course marks and Phi Beta Kappa. I believe that it is important to have the evaluation of such traits and characteristics filed regularly for each student by each of his instructors and entered in the student's personnel case history, but distinct from and not confused with the record of the student's academic intellectual progress and attainments. We have endeavored to design and administer our New Plan at the University of Chicago in such a manner.

Distinguishing features of the new plan, inaugurated in the autumn of 1931, for an entering freshman class are the following: the Bachelor's degree requirements are stated almost solely in terms of educational attainments measured by two sets of comprehensive examinations, one set at the junior-college level to test general education primarily, and the other set at the senior-college level primarily to test depth of penetration and mastery of a large yet special field of thought selected by the student, each set of examinations to be taken by the student whenever he thinks he is adequately prepared, regardless of how many courses he has pursued or the length of time he has been in residence; the old time-serving routine requirements in terms of course credits and grade points have been abandoned; class attendance is voluntary on the part of the student; the relationship between student and professor has been completely changed by divorce of the examination function (which has been placed in the control of the Board of Examinations) from the instructional function; four new courses, a year course in each of four large fields of thought—the biological sciences, the humanities, the physical sciences, and the social sciences—have been specially designed to serve the general-education needs of the student, with a wide variety of instructional methods carefully selected and proportioned in the light of the educational objectives to be attained; a carefully prepared syllabus with appropriate bibliographical citations for each course at the junior-college level is available for each student; a faculty adviser, who is selected for each student in the light of educational needs and ambitions, takes his responsibilities seriously and is ready at all times to play the rôle of guide, counselor, and friend but never that of policeman or nursemaid; the term "College" has been limited to the new junior-college program; and the senior-college program has been merged with the programs of the upper divisions and professional schools. Students above the junior-college level are called divisional or professional-school students.

One of the essay questions, to which sixty minutes were allotted, in the June, 1933 Humanities compre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hensive examination, was the following:

> Give a brief but adequate summary of the civilization of the Hellenistic period according to the plan suggested in the first diagram given you (in the syllabus); that is, sketch in first the political and economic background, then characterize successively the various forms of thought (philosophy, science, religion) and expression (literature, sculpture, painting, and architecture). You are expected to make general statements, but also to substantiate them by reference to definite names of persons and places, dates, works, and accomplishments. Try to spend at least ten minutes in marshalling your facts and planning your organization. Organization and presentation as well as factual material will be taken into consideration by the readers.

After the examination papers were scored by the readers some of the best and some of the poorest were read by three instructors in the Introductory General Course in the Humanities merely for their own enlightenment on how students performed on the comprehensive examination in their field. These instructors agreed in the judgment that any one of three of the best answers written by freshmen to the question quoted above could be substituted for chapters or sections on this topic in not a few widely used text-books with a resulting improvement of the text-books in factual and thought content, organization, and literary style.

Last March we were in the midst of a fervid debate over the relative importance of facts and ideas in various fields of intellectual endeavor. This debate, precipitated by a convocation address by President Hutchins in December, drew the entire university community into participation. For three months the student paper, *The Daily Maroon*, ran an almost continuous series of editorials and communications, ringing the changes on the theme, to such an extent that the factual and thought content and the instructional methods of courses and the comprehensive examinations of virtually every departmental and divisional field were searchingly and critically discussed. Even though not a few of the *Maroon* criticisms were unfounded in fact or unwarranted in basic concept, many were in point and all together constituted a worthy contribution to the intellectual life of the community because students and faculty alike devoted more critical thought in an articulate manner to all phases of the subject—education—than the present writer has ever known to be true of any other college or university community in a generation. One debate over this question of ideas versus facts, between two faculty members, arranged by an undergraduate group (self-started and self-propelled for the discussion of problems in biology), and scheduled originally in a class room seating 350 had to be moved to a hall seating 1500, so great was the demand for tickets, and even this lecture hall was not half large enough to seat those who desired to hear the debate. Many small groups of students have discussed the question for many hours. One such group—another self-started and self-propelled group—organized two years ago by students primarily interested in the social sciences, at one stage of their discussion recently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asked a professor of physics to meet with them and discuss the inductive and the deductive methods of work as used by physical scientists in order that these social-science students might compare and contrast methods of work in the two fields. The professor of physics later told me that it was one of the most interesting and stimulating discussions in which he had ever been privileged to participate or to which he had ever listened.

In the design of our new plan we endeavored to give students greater encouragement and to confront them with an increased necessity to do more independent work and to read more books with greater profit. But none of us dreamed that in so short a time freshmen and sophomores could be brought to read so much or so intelligently. We early learned that our major library problem was not to get the students to use the books but to supply enough seating capacity in the reading rooms, enough books, and enough service for the withdrawal of books. During the current year we have had a daily circulation of over a thousand volumes of books used only in the Humanities course and in the first and second year Social Science courses; and the reading in these volumes is in addition to rather heavy text assignments in one course and large amounts of indispensable readings in each of the other two courses in a set of several volumes rented to each student for the academic year.

A part of the on-going program of each of the four introductory general courses is the organization of several types of special sections: honors sections open to superior students by invitation; special interest sections open to any student who has a burning desire to pursue the particular phase of the field announced for the particular special section farther than is provided by the regular program of the syllabus; and trailer training sections for students who need additional assistance. These sections are in addition to the regularly scheduled discussion sections and are on a voluntary basis. In the Humanities course special interest sections are offered in literature, in philosophy, in religion, and in fine arts. Last autumn when a member of the Humanities staff announced the special interest section for the field of literature, hoping to attract about twenty students, he was nonplussed when at the first meeting he found approximately a hundred students—twice as many as there were seats in the room. In spite of the fact that he gave them his assurance "as a gentleman and a scholar" that he would not attempt in any way so to conduct the program of the section that it would be of any direct assistance to any student in passing the Humanities comprehensive examination, and in spite of the fact that he announced a qualifying examination to be given a week thence to eliminate those not genuinely in earnest in their expressed desire to pursue the study of literature solely for its own sake, he succeeded in cutting the number of the group no more than half. Even with a group too large for the plan of procedure originally contemplated, the program as modified by necessity attained most gratifying results.

In the program of the Introductory General Course in the Biological Sciences there is no provision for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

individual manipulatory laboratory work on the part of the students. The object of the course is not to train botanists or zoologists or physiologists or bacteriologists but to give a general education for freshmen and sophomores, at least three-fourths of whom will never pursue any more formalized instruction in biology. The objects of the course are: (1) to cultivate the scientific attitude of mind through repeated illustrations of the scientific method of attack upon nature's problem; (2) to implant such practical information about biology as is desirable for a citizen in the modern world; (3) to awaken interest in the impressive machinery of the organic world and in the major concepts of biology. Many of the lectures are laboratory demonstration lectures. On approximately half of the Monday and Tuesday afternoons through the year, special laboratory demonstration experiments and exhibits, so arranged that students individually and in small groups may have opportunity to examine, observe, and contemplate at close range and in an unhurried manner many illustrative phenomena, are provided on the voluntary basis. Each exhibit and demonstration is given in the graduate research laboratory of the department concerned. In spite of inconveniences in time and place, more than seventy-five per cent of the class regularly take advantage of these special offerings.

The official Board examinations, offered on scheduled dates twice a year, are the only examinations required. None is required of either faculty or students in any course at any time by administrative regulations. Any type of test, quiz, or examination may be given in any course at any time, however, for instructional purposes, but not for mark-recording purposes. The official Board examinations are the only ones the results of which are made a matter of record in the registrar's office. Interestingly enough, in not a few courses students have asked that examinations be given more frequently than the instructors thought necessary, to acquaint both students and instructors adequately with the rate and degree of progress being made by the students. In more than one instance at the end of the Autumn and Winter quarters, after several instructional tests have been given during the quarter upon the conclusion of logical units of work, it has been left to student vote to determine whether a final examination on the entire quarter's work should be given. In every such instance the students have asked for the examination, though they knew that the result would have no officially recorded effect upon their attainment of the junior-college certificate. They did know, however, that the examination would be carefully corrected and returned, and would thus be valuable in their preparation for the official Board examination.

A student may take any one or more of the comprehensive examinations any time they are offered whether he has attended all or part or none of the sessions of the corresponding courses offered as year courses through the three regular quarters of the academic year to assist students in their preparation for examinations. Though most students attend courses through the entire aca-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demic year before taking the corresponding examinations, in the first calendar year that examinations were offered (June, 1932 to June, 1933 inclusive), 131 students took examinations after having attended corresponding courses only two of the three quarters, 62 after attending only one quarter, and 78 without attending. The letter grade proportions for the 271 students who took examinations before completing the customary three quarters of the course were: A 14 per cent, B 30, C 36, D 12, and F 8; the proportions for the entire group taking examinations were A 9 per cent, B 18, C 41, D 18, F 15.

The proportion of high grades, A and B, was much higher for those students who took examinations without registering for the course or after only one quarter's attendance than for those who attended the full three quarters. The proportion of failures in the faster group was only half the proportion of failures in the entire group. These facts plainly show that the superior students are taking advantage of the opportunities offered under the new plan. The important result is not merely that students may save time by completing the junior-college requirements in less than two years and the Bachelor's degree requirements in less than four years, but that students are encouraged to work "on their own" and are saved from perfunctory and routine repetition or boring and unnecessary review and are encouraged always to be engaged in work that challenges their capacity to the utmost.

Though we do not offer junior-college courses in the Summer quarter, last summer we had over a hundred students who came regularly each week to the College Library to withdraw books by the armful. Some of these students had failed one or more examinations in June and were preparing to take them again in September. A more significant group of considerable size, however, had passed a full quota of examinations in June and were "working up" new fields, without attending courses. Most of these students (from our best group) passed the examinations with distinction. One mother told me that after observing that her son and two of his friends had worked faithfully on the physical science field during part of June and all of July and August, preparing to take the examination late in September without attending the course, she insisted that her son go with her to their camp in the northern woods for the first three weeks in September, prior to the examination. It was arranged that the two friends should join them two or three days later, after camp was put in order. She was astonished to observe, when she and her son met the two friends at the station many miles from camp, that the largest items of luggage were bundles of books brought in compliance with a conspiracy to avoid having their work interrupted by the vacation in unacademic surroundings.

Under the old plan, with required class attendance, most students seemed to think it necessary to take a standard number of "cuts" to preserve their self respect. Under the voluntary attendance plan the attendance at many classes has been better than under the old plan. More frequently than formerly students are visiting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courses for which they are not registered. Attendance now seems to be in direct ratio with the extent to which the students think the class period profitable to them; there was no such correlation under the old plan when a course credit was at stake.

Though we have not raised our admission requirements, the new plan has produced a higher degree of self-selection among our applicants for admission as freshmen. Last year over 40 per cent of our entering freshmen ranked in the upper tenth of their graduating high-school classes and approximately two-thirds were in the highest quarter.

The first year of the operation of the new plan in the upper divisions was 1933. Whether developments comparable to those reported in this paper for the lower division will follow in the upper divisions remains to be seen. Results to date, however, seem to indicate that our first crop of initiates to Phi Beta Kappa under the new plan will be more significantly selected and hence as a group will be more worthy members of the society than were many elected under the old plan on the course grade-point average.

. . .

Gallaudet College

(FOR THE DEAF)

PERCIVAL HALL

President of Gallaudet College

UNTIL 1815 no special education was provided for any deaf children in this country and no permanent school was founded or public education established until two years later, when Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet opened the first permanent public school for the deaf at Hartford on April 15, 1817. From this parent school others sprang up and Gallaudet soon dreamed of higher education of the deaf. But it was left for his son, Edward Miner Gallaudet, to bring this dream to a realization. In 1857 he took charge of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, founded by Amos Kendall and other philanthropic men in the District of Columbia. On April 8, 1864 Abraham Lincoln signed a bill conferring upon this Institution the authority to grant college degrees. Without a dissenting vote the bill passed both houses of Congress and in the fall of the year the advanced department of the Institution, now called Gallaudet College, was opened.

At first higher education was provided only for deaf young men. It was necessary, moreover, to provide two years of high school work in connection with the advanced department. The faculty was small and the students were few in number. In 1887, however, women were admitted to the college and in 1891 a normal department, for the preparation of well educated hearing men and women as teachers of the deaf, was opened. The steady growth of the college has proven the need for its special work. From a group of half a dozen young men in 1864 it has grown now to number 148 men and women in its two departments. No other institution for the higher education of the deaf has yet been opened in any other country of the world, nor does there seem to be any need of duplication of the work of Gallaudet College in *this* country, since

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the authorities have been able to meet all reasonable demands for expansions of the curriculum and the facilities really needed for the work.

The Congress of the United States maintains 125 free scholarships in the College and these are nearly always filled. There are also some students who pay for their tuition and whose fees add to the support of the Institution. Endowment funds are small.

Admission to Gallaudet is by examination and certificate. The old lower preparatory class has been done away with and the course is now made up of one preparatory year and four years of college work. English, Latin, and French are required languages in the curriculum. Natural sciences, mathematics, drawing, and history are also part of the required course. Political science, ethics, business law, are offered; and special vocational courses in printing, agriculture, drawing, and chemistry for men, library science, business practice, domestic arts, and domestic science for women are given.

Careful check on the younger part of the student body by standard tests shows the educational standards of the deaf young people in the college department to be well up to those of their hearing brothers and sisters.

Through the liberality of private friends and the Congress of the United States, beautiful and extensive grounds and buildings are at the disposal of the college students. In their 103 acres of campus, forest, and farm land, located on one of the great avenues of Washington, the students are given a combination of country and city. The wonderful facilities of Washington's museums, art galleries, and libraries, are open to all. Through the generosity of the National Research Council and other foundations, research work in special fields relating to the deaf has already been started in the Institution.

The college life of the students is a normal one. Besides the regular curriculum activities there are football, basketball, volley ball, track, wrestling, swimming, and tennis for the men, with their own student managers; basketball, swimming, tennis, and archery for the women. There are also regular gymnastic classes for those needing special attention or not interested in any of the sports. Physical training is, in fact, required throughout the whole course from every student not excused by the physician. The men maintain a social club, a dramatic club, and a literary society; the women a dramatic and literary society and an active chapter of the Y. W. C. A. The *Buff and Blue*, a monthly magazine, which is written, set up in the print shop, printed, and distributed entirely by the students, has been in successful circulation for many years. There are numerous social gatherings managed by the students which include dancing as part of the entertainment, and there are also sight-seeing and camping trips that add to the knowledge and the pleasure of the men and women during their stay in college.

During its history Gallaudet College has received students, including those in the normal class, from all states of the Union, Canada, Wales, Scotland, and India.

It may be interesting to know what has become of the nearly 2,000 graduates from the normal department

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Gallaudet College. Twenty-three large residential schools scattered throughout the United States and Canada now have as their administrative heads, graduates of the normal department. Many others employ the normal department graduates as principals or head teachers of school departments. The largest percentage of the deaf graduates is engaged in the occupation of teaching the deaf, and in this they are particularly successful because of their own deep sympathy for their pupils and their desire to make their occupation a real life-work. Another field of great importance is that of the ministry to the deaf. Some 20 of the graduates of Gallaudet College are doing this work for various church denominations throughout the country and in a number of cities they have established churches built and maintained for the deaf residents. In chemistry, a third field which has attracted a number of deaf young men, their success has been outstanding, especially in work on rubber and steel, in oil analysis, and in the preparation of perfumes. One of the outstanding architects of the South is a graduate of Gallaudet College. With the foundation laid at Gallaudet many have done successful graduate work in universities of high standing, and the fields of agriculture, banking, insurance, law, printing, publishing, bacteriology, and dentistry have been entered with success by Gallaudet men. The women have largely devoted their time to the management of homes. Many have become teachers, some have entered the field of art, and a considerable number have made good at library or museum cataloging. A large number of the graduates are owners of homes and owners and drivers of automobiles. They are self-supporting, independent citizens, entering into the life of the communities in which they reside.

. . .

Oriental Studies Available in Translation

MORTIMER GRAVES
Assistant Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies

THE study of the Orient by Western scholars has hitherto been rendered difficult by the lack of adequate information concerning the results of research currently published in the Chinese, Japanese, and Russian languages. Since the major work in Oriental studies is being done by scholars to whom these tongues are native some channel whereby it can be quickly conveyed to the Western scholar is necessary.

The National Library of Peip'ing, with the support of the Chinese Committee of the League of Nation's Commission on International Intellectual Cooperation, has begun the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*. This periodical, of which the first number (in a Chinese, an English, and a "combined" edition) has just appeared, continues the work hitherto carried on, courageously but inadequately, by *Book News from China*, irregularly issued for the last few years by the Peip'ing Union Book Store. The present number contains current bibliographies of books published in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China, notes of scholarly organizations and undertakings, and special articles. Later numbers will emphasize the bibliographical sections at the expense of special articles, and it is to be hoped that a series of resumé bibliographical articles covering work in the separate fields will be published. The editor of the new journal is Dr. T. K. Koo, the National Library of Peip'ing, China.

The Japanese attempt to provide Western scholars with adequate information about the contributions of Japanese scholars in the Oriental field is even more ambitious. This year the *Kokusai Bunka Shinko Kai* (Society for International Cultural Relations) was organized in Tokyo. This institution, generously supported by the Japanese, published in April, 1934 an elaborate program of activities involving the production of translations, bibliographies, abstracts, hand-books, and other implements of study and research. Prince Fumimaro Konoye, President of the House of Peers, and Professor Masaharu Anesaki of the Tokyo Imperial University, both of whom hold high office in the new Society, have recently visited America and consulted many American scholars with regard to future activities. Dr. Setsuichi Aoki is general secretary of the Society; his address is 10 Marunouchi 3-chome (Naka 7-gokwan), Kojimachiku, Tokyo.

As yet no such formal and systematic arrangements provide exchange of information with Soviet scholars though both the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, maintain constant informal contacts with scholars and learned organizations in the U.S.S.R., and are working as rapidly as possible toward the establishment of better facilities for such exchange.

. . .

We have received the following communication from the author of *Jean de Reszke and the Great Days of Opera.*

7 Park Avenue, New York City.

To the Editor:

I AM at work on a biographical and critical study of William Ellery Leonard and his work, and am eager to communicate with anyone who has known or is now in touch with him, whether as friend or enemy, student or colleague, or through any other relationship; and with anyone who can tell me of others who may have pertinent information concerning him. I should be grateful for an opportunity to see letters written by Mr. Leonard; they will be speedily copied and returned. Let me add that I am a former student of his and that I proceed with his full permission.

Sincerely yours,

CLARA LEISER.

. . .

Phi Beta Kappa Contributors to This Issue

Herbert Agar, Columbia 1919
C. S. Boucher, Michigan 1909
Albert R. Chandler, Dartmouth 1908
Percival Hall, Haverford, 1922
Ross Stagner, Wisconsin 1929

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discussion

Freeing Our Free Schools

ROSS STAGNER
University of Wisconsin

In fields political and economic the American educational system is heavily weighted with conservatism. There is a strong conviction observable among educators that "whatever is, is right." In contrast with the universal willingness to go to radical extremes in the realms of exact and applied science this clinging to the past in matters touching human welfare is a fitting subject for analysis and comment.

The situation is best understood in the light of history. Public free education is not a natural part of the capitalistic system but was grafted upon it scarcely a hundred years ago. At that time the rich argued it was grossly unfair that they should be taxed to provide education for the numerous offspring of the poor. Over their protests free education has gradually been extended to the university level, but with continued opposition which "taxpayers' alliances" are utilizing at the present time to reduce the free educational facilities of the country.

The opposition to free education was based ultimately on economic grounds but numerous elements entered into the controversy. A brief review of the struggle for universal free education in this country may throw light on the situation at present and on the general problem of relationships between economic and educational systems.

The American colonists set up only the types of schools with which they had been familiar in Europe. These were mainly either private schools, at which a relatively high tuition was charged, or religious schools. Neither seemed likely to develop into a system of education in harmony with the democratic ideals which, at least in theory, are embodied in the American state. As a result, a movement having its roots in the poorer elements of the population, which had already had some success in fighting for universal suffrage, began in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This movement manifested itself first in the establishment of the so-called "poor schools." These were schools supported by public appropriation for the children of paupers and met with the same objection that today is met with in the administration of poor relief—viz., that one must declare oneself a pauper, lose self-respect, fight discrimination, etc. It was inevitable that a strong demand should be made for changes in this system.

Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and other idealists had planned systems of universal free education, but took few steps toward

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their realization. It was only with the development of a strong movement within the middle and working classes that champions of free education began to become effective. The fight in Massachusetts is illustrative and may be summarized to show our point. In 1826 James G. Carter obtained the passage of a law requiring towns of 500 families or more to set up a free high school and in 1834 he obtained state aid for these schools. Carter was a skilled publicist and politician and obtained his results by clever parliamentary maneuvering. He paved the way for Horace Mann, probably the most important single figure in the fight for free education. Mann carried on an intensive campaign for education which culminated in the establishment of state normal schools, state aid for libraries, and an extension of the system begun by Carter.

These changes were fought vigorously and in some cases viciously. The chief sources of opposition were: (1) politicians interested in maintaining the status quo; (2) principals of private schools, who saw possible financial harm to themselves in the movement; (3) religious conservatives who felt that the new plan would interfere with religious education; and (4) property owners who objected to paying taxes to educate the children of "shiftless idlers."

With the exception of the religious element, all these factors today are weighing heavily on the side of conservatism in our schools and on the side of hindering rather than facilitating the expansion of education. The fight against radical (or even liberal) teachings in our schools has come through politicians who see advantage to themselves in the continuance of the status quo. Private property interests fight every idea and every person suggesting the elimination of private profit. And the backbone of the controversy is the cry of the big property owners about excessive taxation. Every attempt to foster higher income taxes as a means of lightening the burden on the poorer individual is met with the charge that private property is being confiscated. Wherever pressure of any sort can be brought to bear, anyone teaching such ideas is immediately crushed.

This detailed analysis of the American educational system as a product of economic conditions is made for two purposes: to bring out clearly the motivation behind conservative teachings and "economy programs" in our schools; and to draw some conclusions with reference to the economic structure of society in general. As to the first point, it seems reasonably clear that capitalistic economics leads naturally to an attack on free schools and to a determination of what ideas may be taught in them. An economics based on profit is not compatible with education which is not subservient to profit ideology. The second point that seems indicated is that the American people became aware of the injustice of the private profit system in education without becoming aware of the same injustices existing in industry. We referred in an earlier paragraph to the administration of poor relief. Today the American people insist on the right of every child to an education; but we do not insist on the right of every parent to a good job at wages which will enable him to support a family in complete com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fort, as economists have shown would be possible in a planned society.

A logical conclusion seems to be that the only way to relieve the injustices of private profit education is to make education public property, to remove profit from it.

• • •

DR. STERNE writes that after reading Dr. Shastid's reply to his letter in the discussion section of the last issue, he wishes to let his own statements stand. He also calls attention to a typographical error, occurring in the last sentence of paragraph 5 of his discussion. The sentence should read: ". . . nor is yet another way of estimating the distance to an object, by moving the eye from side to side, to and fro."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to Volume III

Names of authors in *italics;* main articles in **bold face.**

Adam Leroy Jones, 238
Agar, Herbert, 396
Agassiz, Louis, 381
Age, Facing Old, 192
Allegro con Brio—from "The Hero Sun," 324
All Ready for the Fireworks, a Cartoon, 486
Along Came Russia, 114
America, Robbery in, 379
America, Russian, 45
American and English Stock Markets, Speculation in, 420
American Fraud," "The Great, 85
American Music, Native Elements in, 325
American Music, Pioneers in, 224
American Scholar, Journalism in The, 372
Are the Schools Worth Their Keep? 240
Arnold, H. J., 105
Ars Islamica, 360
Artists, Science for, 108
Art: Under French Influence, Modern, 63
Balkan Minorities Problem, The, 437
Belief, Science and, 266
Blue Windflower, *A Poem,* 301
Boucher, C. S., 487
Budgeteering, 58
Buried Alive, 370
Business Leans on Government, How, 206
Cancer, The Challenge of, 363
Capitalism Failed? Has, 294
Capitalism, Private Property or, 396
Caribe, Skull of the, 395
Cartoons—Will It Rise? 143
His Favorite Author, 473
All Ready for the Fireworks, 486
Challenge of Cancer, The, 363
Chandler, Albert R., 429
Changing Meaning of Scholarship, The, 39
Chemistry, Trends in, 336
Chicago Under the New Plan, Φ B K Prospects at, 487
Churches in Germany, The, 344
Cleveland and Melville W. Fuller, Correspondence of President, 245
Cleveland: An Ill-Appreciated Personality, Grover, 133
Cleveland and National Finances, Grover, 144
College Discipline, 123
Colleges, A Critique of Our, 413
Commager, Henry Steele, 257
Correspondence of President Cleveland and Melville W. Fuller, 245
Correspondence of the State Department, Miscellaneous, 113
Cowell, Henry, 324
Coyle, David Cushman, 121
Critique of Our Colleges, A, 413
Cruising, Learning by, 355
Cuba, A Seminar in, 118
Culture, Mitigating the Tragedy of Our Modern, 180
Darling, Arthur B., 144
Debts, Public Opinion and the War, 216
Diaries, Living in, 457
Discipline, College, 123
Drama in 1933, The, 96
Early Harvard Yard, The, An Engraving, 11
Eaton, Walter Prichard, 96
Ecstasy, 12
"Ecstasy" Analyzed!, 256
Education, Two Experiments in, 359
Egyptian Tomb, A New-Found, 120
1850's, Yarning in the, 281
English Stock Markets, Speculation in American and, 420
Epstein, Abraham, 192
Essence of Judaism, The, 161
Ethics, The Need of Sophistication in, 429
Examination Pass? Shall the, 111
Facing Old Age, 192
Facsimile of part of a Roosevelt letter of April 28, 1911, 480
Fatout, Paul, 281
Finances, Grover Cleveland and National, 144
Foreign Policy and the Public, Our, 361
Fraud," "The Great American, 85
Frederick, Robert W., 240
Freedom of the Press, The, 28
Freeing Our Free Schools, 497
French Influence, Modern Art: Under, 63
Frontispiece—Oliver Wendell Holmes, 4
Grover Cleveland, 132
Theodore Parker, 257
Louis Agassiz, 381
Fuller, Correspondence of President Cleveland and Melville W., 245
Fuller, Ethel Romig, 301
Future, Individualism in the, 155
Gallaudet College, 493
German Association for Psychology, Prospectus for the Congress of the, 353
Germany, The Churches in, 344
Germany, The People's Colleges of, 105
Gland Magic, 444
Gourmand, Theodore Parker, Intellectual, 257
Government, How Business Leans on, 206
Graves, Mortimer, 359, 495
Graveyards, Our Intellectual, 171
Great American Fraud," "The, 85
Greenbie, Sydney, 355
Grover Cleveland and National Finances, 144
Grover Cleveland: An Ill-Appreciated Personality, 133
Hall, Percival, 493
Hamilton, William, 45
Harding, T. Swann, 206, 266
Hart, Elizabeth Dillingham, 24
Harvard Presidency, The, 102
Harvard Yard, The Early, An Engraving, 11
Has Capitalism Failed? 294
Hawtrey, Ralph George, 420
Higher Φ B K Standards, 367
His Favorite Author, a Cartoon, 473
Holmes, Physician, Oliver Wendell, 5
Houghton, N. D., 216
Howard, John Tasker, 325
How Business Leans on Government, 206
Howe, Harrison E., 336
Iconoclasm or Skepticism, 250
Individualism in the Future, 155
Ingraham, Mark Hoyt, 58

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

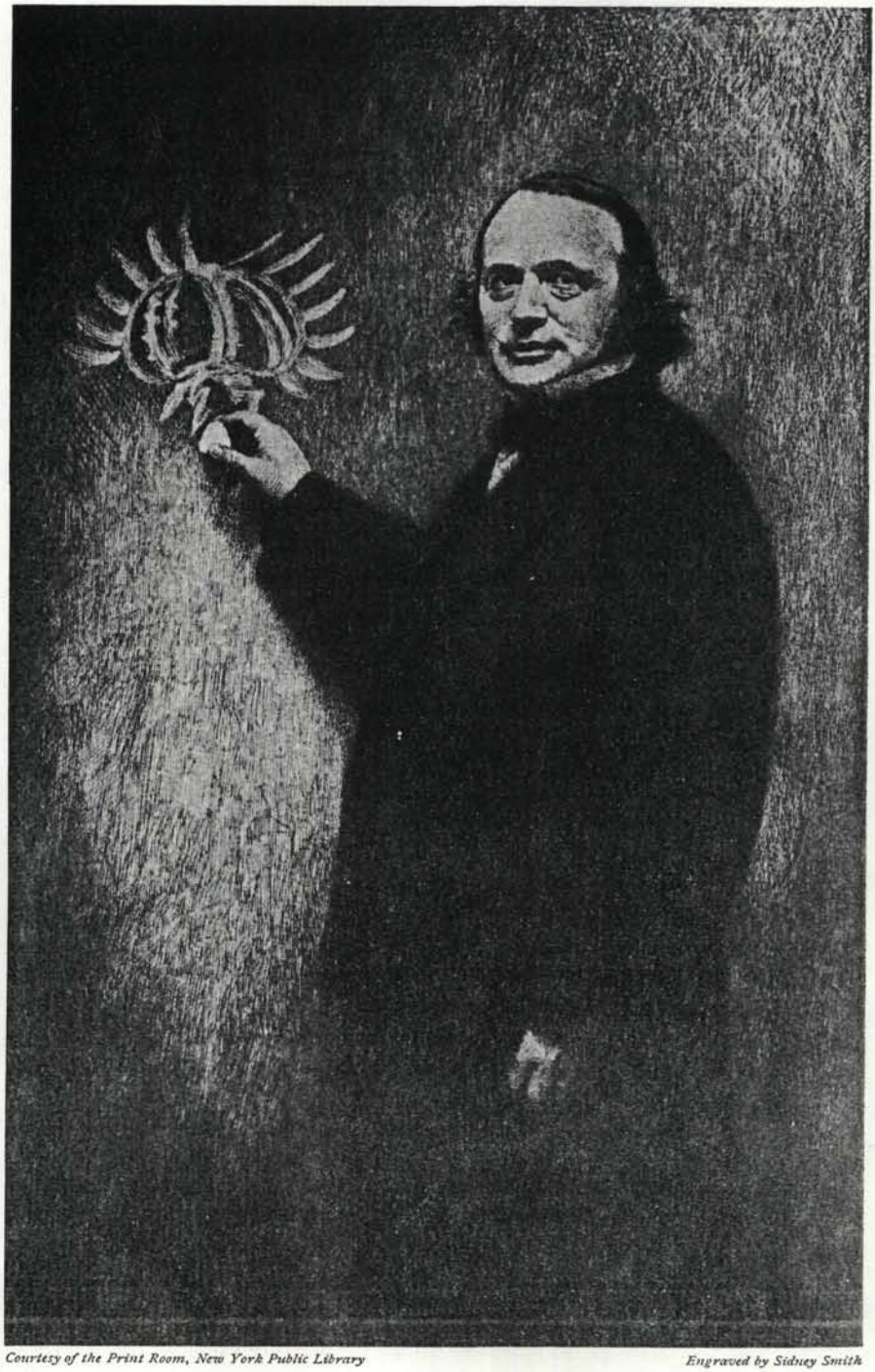
In Praise of Politicians, 78
Jones, Adam Leroy, 238
Journalism in The American Scholar, 372
Judaism, The Essence of, 161
Keyser, Cassius Jackson, 180
King, Stanley, 78
Kohn, Hans, 161
Knaufft, Ernest, 63
Learning by Cruising, 355
Lederer, Emil, 294
Lee, Muna, 119
Leiser, Clara, 496
Lester, Richard A., 413
Letters of Theodore Roosevelt and Charles Dwight Willard, 465
Life, On the Contented, 304
Lisowski, Eunice, 245
Little, Clarence C., 363
Living in Diaries, 457
Louis Agassiz, 381
March, Benjamin, 360
Medicines from Toads, 201
Miller, Herbert Adolphus, 155
Milligan, Harold Vincent, 224
Minorities Problem, The Balkan, 437
Miscellaneous Correspondence of the State Department, 113
Mitigating the Tragedy of Our Modern Culture, 180
Modern Art: Under French Influence, 63
Moore, Henry T., 39
Morgan, Joy Elmer, 372
Music, Pioneers in American, 224
Native Elements in American Music, 325
Need of Sophistication in Ethics, The, 429
Nevins, Allan, 133
Neal Deal, Wealth and the, 121
New England College President, A, 370
New-Found Egyptian Tomb, A, 120
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 344
1933, The Drama in, 96
Ogilvy, J. D. A., 276
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Physician, 5
One More Unto the Breach, 372
On the Contented Life, 304
Opposition, Utilizing the, 103
Oriental Studies Available in Translation, 495
Other Side of the Shield, The, 374
Our Foreign Policy and the Public, 361
Our Intellectual Graveyards, 171
Our Intellectual Treadmills, 276
Parker: Intellectual Gourmand, Theodore, 257
People's Colleges of Germany, The, 105
Ph.D.'s for Preachers and Politicians, 238
Φ B K Prospects at Chicago Under the New Plan, 487
Φ B K Standards, Higher, 367
Physician, Oliver Wendell Holmes, 5
Pioneers in American Music, 224
Podolsky, Edward, 201, 444
Poems—**Blue Windflower,** 301
Riccio Sings, 24
Politicians, In Praise of, 78
Politicians, Ph.D.'s for Preachers and, 238
Porter, Anna, 114
Preachers and Politicians, Ph.D.'s for, 238
Press, The Freedom of, 28
Private Property or Capitalism, 396
Prospectus for the Congress of the German Association for Psychology, 353
Public Opinion and the War Debts, 216
Public, Our Foreign Policy and the, 361
Puerto Rico Achieves Tradition and Personality, 119
Riccio Sings—*A Poem,* 24
Robbery in America, 379
Roosevelt and Charles Dwight Willard, Letters of Theodore, 465
Russia, Along Came, 114
Russian America, 45
Russian Summer School, A, 245
Ryerson, Margery, 108
Scholarship, The Changing Meaning of, 39
Scholars! March! 352
School, A Russian Summer, 245
Schools Worth Their Keep? Are the, 240
Schools, Freeing Our Free, 497
Sciaky, Maurice, 12
Science and Belief, 266
Science for Artists, 108
Seminar in Cuba, A, 118
Shall the Examination Pass? 111
Shastid, Thomas Hall, 374
Shelley: Values and Imagination, 404
Shimer, William A., 103, 111, 238, 256, 367, 379
Singer, Jr., Edgar A., 304
Skepticism, Iconoclasm or, 250
Skull of the Caribe, 395
Sophistication in Ethics, The Need of, 429
Spaulding, Thomas M., 113
Speculation in American and English Stock Markets, 420
Stagner, Ross, 497
Sterne, Theodore Eugene, 372
Stock Markets, Speculation in American and English, 420
Theodore Parker, Intellectual Gourmand, 257
Thwing, Charles Franklin, 102
Toads, Medicines from, 201
Tomb, A New-Found Egyptian, 120
Tragedy of Our Modern Culture, Mitigating the, 180
Translation, Oriental Studies Available in, 495
Translation Project, A, 369
Treadmills, Our Intellectual, 276
Trends in Chemistry, 336
Tugwell, Rexford G., 85
Two Experiments in Education, 359
Utilizing the Opposition, 103
Viets, Henry R., 5
Villard, Oswald Garrison, 28
Wakeman, Seth, 352
War Debts, Public Opinion and the, 216
Warren, Helen Ann, 381
Wealth and the New Deal, 121
Weaver, Bennett, 404
Wertenbaker, Thomas J., 171
Weston, Arthur Harold, 123
Willard, Letters of Theodore Roosevelt and Charles Dwight, 465
Will It Rise?—a Cartoon, 143
Wirtz, Willard W., 250
Wolfe, Henry C., 437
Wolseley, R. E., 361
Wright, Richardson, 457
Yarning in the 1850's, 281

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Courtesy of Robert Friedenberg Galleries *Engraved by J. H. Robinson*

Thos. Parker

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Courtesy of the Print Room, New York Public Library *Engraved by Sidney Smith*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED